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THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

PART I.

B. K. DAS-GUPTA,

SUB-EDITOR, THE *Bengales*.

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To

**The Memory of My Mussalman Country-
men who lost their lives in the Riot
at Cawnpore, on the 3rd day of
August, 1913,**

This Book is Humbly Dedicated.

AUTHOR

PREFACE

In presenting the following pages before the public, I have no pretention to offer the readers a work of any literary value. My sole object in publishing this book has been to embody in it a faithful account of all incidents connected with the now famous Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore, from the demolition up to the restoration of its *dalan*. The accounts given in the book are based on my personal knowledge and information gathered on the spot. In this connection, I am thankful to Moulvi Syed Fazlar Rahman, Vakil of Cawnpore, and Mr. Biswanath Thulol, Editor of the *Cawnpore Journal*, for their valuable assistance. I have, besides, gathered some facts from the *Comrade* of Delhi and personally from its editor Mr. Mohamed Ali and his brother Mr. Shoukat Ali and I can not too highly thank them for their ungrudging help and encouragement. To curtail the size of the book, I had to leave out some matters which to my mind appeared to be of minor importance. I have also in some cases avoided repetitions, as for instance, Sir James Meston's speech at Agra has not been published separately, as that portion of this Honour's speech which related to the Cawnpore incidents would be found in the proceedings before the Court.

In inserting some of the press comments, I have not given any prominence to the Mahomedan Press for all the Mahomedan papers in the country naturally wrote in the strongest possible language about the Cawnpore affairs.

In preparing the manuscript for the press, I did not seek the assistance of any one as I was afraid that any suggested improvements might exaggerate or distort facts. I decided upon publishing this book some time after His Excellency Lord Hardinge had ordered the restoration of the demolished portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque when it occurred to me that a publication of this kind, while preserving a record of the events which led to Mahomedan unrest of the gravest magnitude, demonstrated the triumph of popular agitation based on a righteous cause and that there was no cause of despair to get redress of a just grievance at the hands of a sympathetic ruler. The whole thing had, therefore, to be done in an incredibly short time and that during the recess of my daily work which is by no means light. The book, in consequence, will be found to contain some ugly mistakes for which I crave the indulgence of the readers. If my generous readers will only think that the book contains a fairly exhaustive account of the recent incidents at Cawnpore I shall consider my efforts successful.

CALCUTTA.

November 7, 1913.

AUTHOR



H. E. Lord Hardinge

"I am your Father, you are my Children."

Lord Hardinge at Cawnpore on the 14th October, 1913.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

MACHHLI BAZAR MOSQUE

In a dingy quarter in the heart of the historic city of Cawnpore, not far from the dins and bustles of her busy chowk, stands almost beyond the gaze of pedestrians a white building. It bears the unmistakable signs of the decaying influence of Time ; the white walls of the structure present bold relief of mossy growths inspite of recent white-washing, indicating that it has stood there for no inconsiderable number of years. But it tells a tell-tale story by its superb neatness and tidiness. This is a sacred house of God which has taken its name from the place of its location. The Machhli Bazar Mosque, when consecrated about 40 years ago, was never credited with any attractive view. It was one of the many such houses where the followers of the Prophet congregated to say their daily prayers to the Maker of their being. No special interest attached to it to single it out from among the rest. Little was thought of at the time that the mosque would ever come into prominence, not before the eyes of the people of Cawnpore alone, but before the people of the whole of the Indian Continent, and in the course of time, as subsequent events developed, before the humanity that claimed civilisation. As years rolled on, the only thing of any import that became a cause of concern to the people who were entrusted with the management of this trust was the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

ever increasing influx of devoted Moslems who made their way to that sacred place in hours of daily prayer. An increase in the Mahomedan population in the neighbourhood of the mosque, led to a corresponding increase in the number of worshippers and in consequence the building was extended about 20 years ago. The new projection to the east formed part of the courtyard of the mosque and was used mainly as the *Vasookhana*, or the place for ablution. But on occasions of overflow congregations, and such occasions were not rare, the worshippers, standing in rows, occupied sometimes a portion and sometimes almost the whole of the extended *dalan*. At one end of the *dalan* ran the *Nali* near which people sat to make their *Vasoo*. Beyond the *Nali* was the *Gochalkhana* and the *Istinjakhana*. Taken all these together, it was, however, a small mosque, surrounded by the small shops of Besati Bazar. But big or small, here it was that hundreds of devoted Mahomedans found peace in holding themselves in communion with God ; here it was that one could see *fakirs* gliding the holy beads in the name of the Most High ; here it was that on ceremonial occasions the four walls of the mosque sounded and resounded with punctuated recitals of the texts from the holy Koran ; here again, people of the locality received, when they wanted them, the *fatwas* from the learned Ulama ; and in time of their grief or sorrow, from which no mortal is immune, here they retired to repose themselves in One from Whom come sorrow and happiness alike. Unlike, therefore, some old and about-to-be-forgotten

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

mosques, the land and building at Machhli Bazar dedicated to God were in daily use for purposes only sacred and divine. Speaking of recent times, Moulvi Kareem Ahmed and Moulvi Abdul Quadir, two trusted leaders of the local Mussalmans, were the Trustees of this sacred trust.

CAWNPORE IMPROVEMENT SCHEME

Cawnpore is one of the biggest and busiest cities in India. With a population of about 200,000, it has of late years made remarkable progress in commerce and industry. The mills with their chimneys towering in the sky and the harness and leather factories, among many other things, bear testimony to its commercial wealth. Like all other pretentious cities in India, Cawnpore was also dallying with Improvement Schemes for some years past. In December 1908, the Government of Sir John Hewett had allotted 2½ lakhs to the Cawnpore Municipality for the purpose of constructing "broad thoroughfares and other works for the relief of congested areas in the city of Cawnpore in accordance with any scheme already sanctioned or that may hereafter be sanctioned by the Government." The Government had also sent a draft scheme for the approval of the Municipal Board. The proposed Improvement Scheme included the construction of a road known as the A. B. Road, of which more later on. In pursuance of this Scheme, the Government of the United Provinces issued the following notification in January, 1909:—

**NOTIFICATIONS OF THE APPROPRIATION OF LAND FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES.
MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT.**

The 29th December, 1908.

No. 4519—X1/711 D.—The land designated below being required for a public purpose, declaration is made accordingly :—

District.	Pargana.	Mauza.	Approximate area.	For what purpose required.	REMARKS.
Cawnpore.	Cawnpore Municipality.	CAWNPORE CITY. <i>Mahallas</i> —Butcherkhana Khurd, Misri Bazar, Topkhana, Maida Bazar.	25,901 square yards.	For the improvement of the sanitary condition of the city by opening out congested areas and making a new road.	The plan may be inspected at the Collector's office.

2. This declaration is made under Section 6, Act I of 1894 (The Land Acquisition Act), and under Section 7 of that Act, the Collector of Cawnpore is hereby declared to take order for the acquisition of the land specified above.

By order of the Hon'ble The Lieut. Govr., United Provinces,
R. W. GILLAN,
Secretary to Government, United Provinces.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

The approval of the Government for the construction of the A. B. Road was obtained on the 7th April, 1909. At this stage it was not known to the Mussalmans, or for the matter of that to the people of Cawnpore, what would be the exact alignment of the A. B. Road. But on receipt of the Government approval, the Board at a meeting held on the 20th April, 1909, passed a resolution accepting the proposed construction of the A. B. Road. The members of the Board did not know exactly what particular buildings were proposed to be demolished by the construction of the new road. To make confusion worse confounded the Local Government issued a notification in November, 1909, in modification of the one issued in January, 1909. Furthermore, the map that was prepared of the site to be acquired for the purpose of the A. B. Road did not indicate the building of the mosque. The mosque is house No. 90 and the house immediately to the east of it No. 89. On the map a red line was drawn on premises No. 89 with a note that only a portion of it would be acquired. There was nothing in the map to show clearly that the red mark indicated not a portion of premises No. 89 but the eastern portion of the mosque. In any case, there was a grave misunderstanding in the minds of those who inspected the document. To the general body of Moslems, however, the map was a sealed book. The second notification was as follows :—

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

The 11th November, 1909.

No. 3523—XI/711 D.—The land designated below being required for a public purpose, declaration is made accordingly :—

District.	Pargana.	Mauza.	Approximate area.	For what purpose required.	REMARKS.
Cawnpore.	Cawnpore Municipality.	CAWNPORE CITY. <i>Masallas</i> —Butcherkhana, Khurd, Misri Bazar, Topkhana, Maida Bazar, Khas Bazar, Chauk Chakla.	25,901 square yards.	For the improvement of the sanitary condition of the city by opening out congested areas and making a new road.	The plan may be inspected at the Collector's office.

2. This declaration is made under Section 6, of Act I of 1894 (The Land Acquisition Act), and under Section 7 of that Act, the Collector of Cawnpore is directed to take order for the acquisition of the land specified above.

3. This notification is in modification of Notification No. 4519—XI/711 D, dated the 29th December, 1908.

By order of the Lieut. Govr., United Provinces,
W. H. ROSE,
Secretary to Government, United Provinces.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Now, the question of the demolition of a Hindu temple, commonly known at Cawnpore as the Tili's temple, came to the fore. For, if the proposed A. B. Road was to run its course straight, the temple would fall in the middle of the road. The impending danger to the temple stirred the feelings of the Hindus. Their religious susceptibilities received a rude shock and the proposal created a great indignation among them. The Tili approached several leaders of the Hindu community to represent his grievances to the authorities. A deputation of leading Hindu gentlemen eventually waited upon Mr. H. G. S. Tyler, District Magistrate of Cawnpore. But the deputation failed in its mission. It withdrew with the impression that the demolition of the temple was a settled fact and perhaps no effort on their part could unsettle it. But the Tili was obdurate; he would not budge an inch from the position he had taken up. Various means were resorted to to bring pressure upon the Tili to give up his temple and accept compensation. But the Tili was as firm as the rock in his determination to keep the temple intact. A melancholy interest attaches to a story that is told in this connection. One man who could not resist the temptation of the filthy lucre and allowed his temple to be demolished, lost all his issues and himself died soon after the money had passed into his hands. When the fate of the Tili's temple was trembling in the balance, the Tili lost his son. How much the wrath of the disturbed dieties had anything to do in these tragic coincidences, nobody needs take any trouble to divine. But the fact remains

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

that a panic preyed upon the people interested in the temple and temptations and persuasions were unavailing. This state of things continued for some time and in October, 1911, a suggestion was put forward, or at any rate, the Mahomedan member of the Board believed that a suggestion had been made, that the temple might be left untouched where it was, if in the alternative a portion of the mosque could be acquired. It was at this stage, that the Mohomedans of Cawnpore had allowed to grow in their mind a suspicion that in constructing the A. B. Road, the demolishing hands of the Cawnpore Improvement Trust might be laid on their sacred house of God. What, if anything, was done in pursuance of the Scheme during the next twelve months was probably carried under the surface and nothing happened in the meantime to help the suspicion of the Mahomedans to materialise or to remove it altogether.

In November, 1912, His Honour Sir James Meston, Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, visited Cawnpore. When the members of the Municipal Board were presented to His Honour, Lala Biswambarnath, on behalf of the Hindus of Cawnpore, made a representation praying that Sir James would be pleased to save the Hindu temple. A Mahomedan member of the Board brought to His Honour's notice the feeling of apprehension that disturbed the minds of his co-religionists lest the effect of leaving the temple intact would be the demolition of the mosque. His Honour in the course of a joint reply, as published in the *Herald of India* of Cawnpore, "assured the members

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

that the temple and the mosque will remain untouched by the Improvement Trust." All anxieties of the Mahomedans were set at rest by this declaration of the sympathetic ruler of the Province, and they laid the soothing unction to their soul that the trouble was at an end. But a spake of cloud appeared on the distant horizon. In spite of the kind assurance of the head of the Government, as the Mahomedans understood it, that no portion of the mosque would be touched, the Chairman of the Municipal Board, Mr. Sim, got the Improvement Trust Committee to pass a resolution on the 12th February, 1913, that the eastern portion of the mosque should be acquired and a plot to the north of it given in compensation. The Improvement Trust Committee consists of five members including one Mahomedan who raised his voice though unsuccessfully against the resolution. The proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee were placed before the Board for confirmation on the 4th March, 1913. The discussion on the subject was adjourned and the Board confirmed the proceedings at a meeting held on the 8th March, 1913. A member of the Board objected to the acquisition of a portion of the mosque at that meeting, but he was ruled out of order by the Chairman. The cloud that was at first no bigger than a man's hand, now assumed threatening proportions and the local Mahomedan leaders realised to their dismay, the danger that was looming ahead. A requisition signed by ten members, including six Hindus, was then sent to the official Chairman to put the following resolution on

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the agenda :—"From the proceedings of the Trust Committee that came before the Board at its meeting held on the 4th March, 1913, and that were confirmed by the Board at the meeting on the 8th March, 1913, to which a protest by a member of the Board was ruled out of order, the Board has come to know that a portion of the building of the mosque in Machhli Bazar is being acquired for the purpose of the A. B. Road. Resolved that the contemplated acquisition being objectionable on religious grounds and being contrary to the spirit of the declaration made by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor on the 13th November, 1912, the Board is of opinion that the said portion of the mosque should not be acquired and that any previous resolution of the Board directly or impliedly approving of such acquisition be cancelled." An amendment was proposed and seconded to the effect that a recommendation may be sent to the Government requesting that no portion of the mosque on the A. B. Road be acquired in deference to the feelings of the Mahomedan community. The Chairman, Mr. Sim, proposed another amendment that no action be taken on the proposed resolution. Mr. Ryan seconded the Chairman's amendment which was supported only by four European members. But the first amendment was supported by as many as thirteen votes and was carried, the original motion having been withdrawn in its favour. But the Chairman refused to recommend the resolution, even in its amended form. In his letter to the District Magistrate the Chairman said that the notice of a member who wished

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

to raise the question whether the building of the mosque should be acquired at all could not be entertained as "the member was ruled out of order on the ground that the only question before the Board was the question of land to be given in compensation, the acquisition of the building having been previously decided upon by the Board." Another cogent argument put forward by the Chairman was that to leave the portion of the mosque standing, would "add an impossible disfigurement to the street."

It is interesting to note here that although no resolution was passed by the Improvement Trust Committee with regard to the acquisition of the eastern portion of the mosque until the 12th February, 1913, the Land Acquisition Officer in his note submitted more than a year before that date put down his observation under the heading *Mosque* that "only a portion of it (lately added to it for a bathing place) is to be taken in exchange for a like piece to be given when the houses round it have been demolished." This indicates, if anything, that the official mind was set upon demolishing a portion of the mosque.

Before the amended resolution was adopted, Mr. Tyler, District Magistrate, visited the mosque. He entered the eastern portion of the mosque with his boots on and is said to have expressed the opinion that inasmuch as no Mussalmans objected to his entering that part of the mosque with his boots on it was not an integral part of the sacred building. The Mahomedans of Cawnpore, on the other hand, obtained

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the verdict of five eminent Ulama on the question of the sanctity or otherwise of that portion of the mosque, according to which the eastern portion of the mosque was an integral part of the building. "The Moslem law forbids the selling or giving in exchange of a mosque or any portion thereof." Consequently "the proposed exchange of the eastern *dalan* is contrary to the law of *Shariat*." Armed with this *fatwa* a deputation of the Cawnpore Moslems waited on the District Magistrate. But the Magistrate ignored such arguments.

All hopes of getting any redress of their grievances from the local authorities were now blasted by the attitude of the District Magistrate and the Cawnpore Moslems decided upon approaching the higher authorities. Accordingly, they submitted a memorial to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor through the Hon'ble Mr. Shahid Husain Bar-at-Law, on the 12th April, 1913. In the memorial the Mussalmans set forth the facts of their case. They also stated the attitude of the District Magistrate in the matter. They further pointed out that the intended acquisition was a direct encroachment upon their religious rights and opposed to the accepted policy of the Government. They humbly prayed to stop the said acquisition and save the mosque from being partially demolished. The Under-Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces in reply to the memorial, dated the 6th May, 1913, said :

"The Lieutenant-Governor has carefully considered the representation of the memorialists, and after ascertaining the facts of the case from the local authorities

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

“ has decided that the proposed alignment of the road—
“ which is the same as that originally selected for this
“ road—must be maintained. His Honour guaranteed
“ that the mosque should not be interfered with, but the
“ washing place is not part of the sacred building, and
“ when a similar point arose in connection with the
“ Lucknow improvements, the Muhammadans assented
“ to another washing place being given them in place of
“ one which was required for public purposes. The
“ present washing place must, therefore, be removed.
“ The authorities of the mosque will be asked to choose
“ another site on which a washing place will be built for
“ them by the Municipal Board.”

CORRESPONDENCE WITH LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

The Readers of the Cawnpore Moslems then made a representation to Mr. Mohamed Ali of the *Comrade* to communicate their grievances to Sir James Meston. Thereupon the following telegraphic and written correspondence took place between Mr. Mohamed Ali and His Honour.

TO HIS HONOUR SIR JAMES MESTON, LIEUTENANT-
GOVERNOR, NAINITAL.

Large number Cawnpore Moslem residents ask me support their contention that portion of mosque in Machhli Bazar wanted by Municipal Chairman for extending new A. B. Road be not demolished. Learn that Your Honour memorialized. If reply favourable I need

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

not move in matter. Could Your Honour inform me of decision? Great feeling prevails in Cawnpore. Am anxious to allay such excitement specially at present juncture.—MOHAMED ALI, "COMRADE." *Delhi, 15th May, 1913.*

TO MOHAMED ALI, "COMRADE," DELHI.

Your telegram about Cswnpore Mosque. Orders have already issued on Memorial objections. I had given matter my best personal consideration and believe grievance to be largely imaginary. Building to be demolished is bathing enclosure and not part of sacred building is proved by fact that Mahomedans have been seen to enter it wearing their shoes. Every effort will be made to replace this convenience in suitable spot, but alignment of road cannot be diverted and mosque itself will be fully respected.—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR. *Nainital, 15th May, 1913.*

TO HIS HONOUR SIR JAMES MESTON, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, NAINITAL.

Grateful for telegram. No part of land endowed for any purpose of mosque may be transferred under Islamic law in any way. Part used for ablutions always considered integral portion of mosque. Cawnpore Moslems contend shoes not worn in part sought to be demolished but prayer offered whenever overflow congregation. Fully appreciate Your Honour's desire to respect mosque and replace part used for ablutions in suitable spot, but

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

I fear point at issue somewhat misunderstood. I would never support imaginary grievances for embarrassing Government, much less at such crisis, but submit symmetrical alignment of road not matter over which a grievance seriously entertained by respectable and reasonable men should be allowed to create sense of injustice. Respectfully suggest consultation with Moslem Ulama and lawyers before further action is taken.—MOHAMED ALI, COMRADE." *Delhi, 16th May, 1913.*

MY DEAR MOHAMED ALI,—I kept your last telegram about the Cawnpore business for a few days to think over it. I had already sent out orders to the local authorities ; but was anxious not to overlook your very temperate and appropriate request for reconsideration. To be perfectly frank with you, I do not think that this agitation is based on a genuine religious grievance. If the matter had contained any element of doubt, I should have been most scrupulous to avoid anything which would wound genuine susceptibilities. The evidence which I have however is definite that this outcry about the bathing place is belated, and that the building which is going to be removed is entered by Muhammadans with their shoes on ; on the latter point there seems to be no possibility of doubt. I sincerely hope that the good sense of the community will prevent their carrying this matter further. We shall do all we can to make matters easy for them ; but you will readily realize that public business cannot be held up except for good and sufficient reasons. I quite see your position in the matter, and

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

have, as I always do, told you my position in exchange with perfect frankness.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

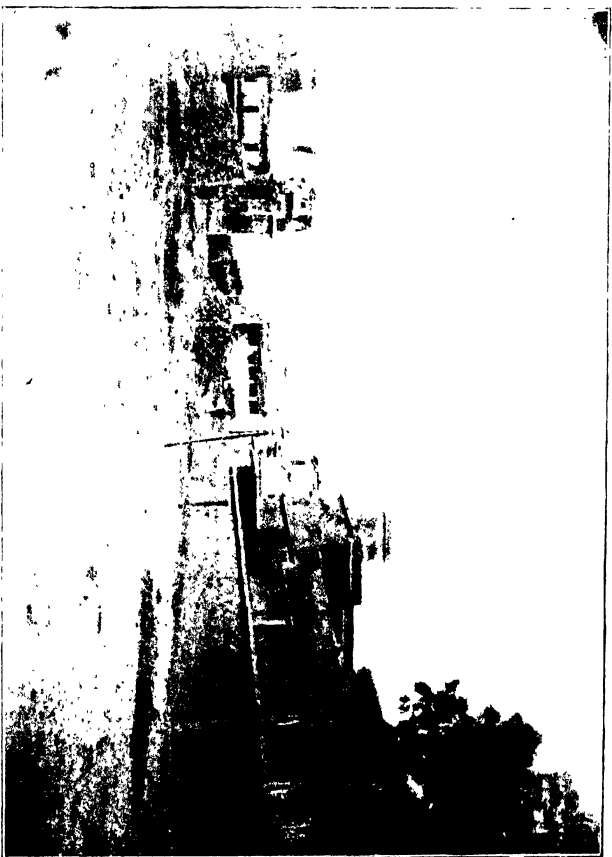
(Sd.) J. S. MESTON.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE :

Nainital, 23rd May, 1913.

MY DEAR SIR JAMES.—I have already written to your Honour at only too great a length on Aligarh affairs and now trouble you once more on the subject of the Cawnpore mosque. The matter has already been noticed by several Urdu papers, and I fear others will take it up immediately. I am somewhat doubtful, as a rule, of the effect of writings in the Vernacular Press on Government officials whose knowledge of the vernaculars is generally poor, and my arrangement is that what is intended for Government should appear in the *Comrade* and what is intended for the people should appear in the *Hamdard*. I, therefore, never contemplated to write in the *Hamdard* on the subject, as such writings have a tendency to excite a certain class of people without any compensating effect on Government, but in your Honour's case it is different, for you are well able to read Urdu papers for yourself. * * *

But to turn to the Cawnpore question. I would certainly have written in the *Comrade* on the subject had it not been that I hoped and still hope, to obtain the same result, and a satisfactory result, without raising a controversy in the Press. So far I have been somewhat



Machhli Bazar Mosque

Showing the relative position of the mosque and the Fil's Temple with the new A. H. Road on either side

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

disappointed because, inspite of the fact that your Honour considers my request for reconsideration very temperate and appropriate, it has hitherto proved sterile of results. But I have not yet lost hope, and once more appeal to your Honour to accept my suggestion and consult some Moslem Ulama and lawyers.

It appears to me that more attention has been paid to the question whether the part which the Chairman of the Municipality wishes to demolish is or is not a place used for prayers. What should have been considered first, however, is whether any land or building dedicated to God could be sold or transferred in any other way. I am no theologian, nor much of a lawyer, but I believe it is a well known fact that such property cannot be devoted to any other purpose. If it is so, the demolition of any part of the building is bound to hurt the feelings of us all, and it is for your Honour to judge whether the alignment of a road is worth the price demanded from us. We could have understood the position of the authorities if some important public business was held up on account of the Moslem prejudices. But frankly, I cannot conceive how Moslem feelings can be ignored merely because the Chairman of the Municipality desires to have an alignment of the road geometrically perfect, when he could as well give a curve to the road and save the building altogether. As a matter of fact, it is my information that if the alignment had been kept straight the mosque would have been left untouched, but that in order to protect a temple a bend of about eight feet was made from a distance of about 150 feet from the mosque. I

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

questioned the Mussalmans of Cawnpore who came to see me very searchingly to detect if there was any trace of ill-feeling towards the Hindus on that account, but I am convinced that they bear no grudge to the Hindus, on account of the decision of your Honour to save the temple which is right in the middle of the road. As a matter of fact, they have been throughout most anxious to secure the support of the Hindu members of the Cawnpore Municipal Board, and I rejoice to see that while the Hindus supported the Mussalmans in this matter, the Mussalmans also accepted the amendment of a Hindu gentleman making the resolution less emphatic than it originally stood on the agenda of the Municipal Board. Even the voting on the question on the 20th ultimo showed that there were more Hindus for staying the proceedings to enable the Muhammadan members to make further representation to the Government than against. It seems to me that all the driving power in this matter is coming from the Chairman whose casting vote decided the matter even on the last occasion against the Mussalmans.

The statement of the Cawnpore gentlemen, if correct, throws curious light on the way in which the Collector of the District is procuring proof of the fact that the portion which the Chairman of the Municipality desires to demolish is not part of the mosque. They state that Mr. Tyler without asking anyone went into this portion of the mosque with shoes on, and on his return said that had this been a part of the mosque they would have stopped him from doing so. If this is true, it serves

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the Mussalmans of Cawnpore right, for it seems to me that nowhere in the civilized world would a Magistrate select such a distressing method of obtaining evidence and none but the Mussalmans, who are accused by our friend the *Times* of all sorts of things, would quietly tolerate such conduct. I do not know what information your Honour has on the subject, but if Mr. Tyler has offered such evidence I hope your Honour has also offered him some advice which, if these are the true facts, he evidently needs. Now, as a matter of fact, a Mussalman can say his prayers with his boots on if only they are clean, according to the *Shari'at*, but Indian roads, as a rule, are not so clean that the floor of a mosque would remain fit for prayers if the congregation had its boots on. This thought dictated by common sense has now assumed the form of the convention in India that nobody should enter the mosque with boots on, and for a long time this offered no inconvenience to people, because they generally wore Indian shoes which are really slippers. But in certain mosques Europeans go with their boots on, causing great offence to the Mussalmans, and I am given to understand that this practice would be put down by example, if not precept, by no less a person than His Excellency the Viceroy himself, after which let us hope not only the Jam'i Masjid at Delhi but also some sacred places at Agra, where the sight-seers go and where they are permitted by Mr. Mardon to go with their boots on if they are non-Moslem, will be spared what has come to be regarded as a sacrilege. But the Mussalmans of Cawnpore

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

emphatically declare that they are prepared to prove it up to the hilt that shoes are never taken into the mosque beyond the steps and that as a matter of fact prayer is offered on the portion sought to be demolished when there is an exceptionally large congregation. At any rate, what I have stated before in one of my telegrams the place used for ablutions is an integral part of the mosque everywhere, and whatever sacredness attaches to the other portions of the mosque attaches to this also.

I understand from information supplied to me that at first the idea was that the temple, which comes right in the middle of the road, should be demolished, but that on the representation of the Hindus the Government rightly spared the temple. It was then considered whether as an alternative scheme a portion of the mosque should be demolished. When your Honour visited Cawnpore in November last the Muhammadan members of the Municipal Board are alleged to have requested your Honour to assure them that this part of the mosque would not be demolished, and I learn from the *Herald of India* that your Honour "assured the members that the temple and the mosque will remain untouched by the Improvement Trust." It is alleged that inspite of this assurance the Improvement Trust passed a resolution favouring the acquisition of this part of the mosque in exchange for some land to the north, but that when this resolution came for confirmation before the Board it was postponed on the opposition of the Moslem members. Subsequently Mr.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Tyler went to see the mosque and entered this part of it with boots on. Thereafter in a meeting five local Ulama gave their *Fatwa* that this part of the mosque was an integral part of the mosque and the meeting accordingly passed the resolution. Afterwards another meeting of the Board took place and for want of previous notice a Moslem member's motion that no part of the mosque be destroyed was ruled out of order. In due course, a deputation of some prominent Mussalmans waited upon the Collector and requested that this part of the mosque should be spared and gave instance of the Holcy Road which was originally aligned in such a manner as to require the demolition of the place reserved for ablutions in the Chhoti Idgah, but was built according to a different alignment in deference to the wishes of a Moslem deputation which waited on Mr. Holcy. I have in my possession a plan of the Holcy Road, which shows that the road has spared a portion of the mosque eleven feet in width, which would have been demolished if a geometrically perfect alignment had been insisted upon in those days. The road is from 102 to 105 feet in width generally, but where it passes by the mosque it is only 94 feet wide in one place and 97 in another. I may mention here that it appears from a plan in my possession of the mosque now in question and the proposed road that the part of the mosque said to be demolished in order to give a perfect alignment to the road is no more than $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet at its greatest width.

What impresses me most is the resolution passed by

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the Municipal Board at a meeting held on the 1st of April. The requisition for the original resolution was signed by no less than six Hindu members in addition to the four Muhammadan members of the Board. However, two Hindu members proposed an amendment, which left out the preamble of the original resolutions, but adhered to the conclusion that no portion of the mosque should be acquired. The Chairman proposed and a European member seconded another amendment desiring that no action be taken, but this was supported by four votes only, while the two Hindu gentlemen's amendment was supported by 13 and was carried, the proposal of the original having exceeded the amendment. It will be very presumptuous on my part even to suggest to your Honour that under the circumstances it seems to me that local self-government would be a hollow mockery if the Chairman can still have his way. But I have no doubt that this aspect of the question has appealed to your Honour as much as it has appealed to me.

In the reply given by your Honour's Government to my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shahid Husain an instance is given of a washing place attached to a mosque having been acquired at Lucknow for improvements of the town. The Cawnpore Mussalmans state that if this refers to the two mosques in Moulviganj to the west of the Aminabad Park it is their belief that the part acquired was a separate building and never used for prayers. In any case, they contend that the instance of the Holcy Road at Cawnpore itself is more to the point,

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

and that even if in one place some Mussalmans agreed to the acquisition of a building dedicated to God for being used by Moslems making their ablutions before prayers, such consent cannot bind Mussalmans in another place. I also learn that in a meeting of the Municipal Board held on the 20th May it was only the casting vote of the Chairman which helped him to carry an amendment against staying further proceeding to enable the Muhammadan members of the Board to make further representations to the Government. It seems to me that, if the Muhammadan members of the Board are still of the same mind as before and four Hindu members vote for staying the proceedings against three who support the Chairman, it is a matter in which Government can well regard the Chairman's views as of less moment than those of the Moslem members and a majority of the Hindu members. I hope and trust that no action of the Chairman will make this a Hindu-Moslem question, but if it has become one, I fear that some would be led to suspect that the Chairman actively assisted in creating such a dissension. I know how keen your Honour is that not a breath of suspicion should attach to the authorities with reference to the "divide and rule" policy. I only hope the Chairman of the Municipality at Cawnpore would be equally keen to avoid such suspicions.

I have counselled the Mussalmans of Cawnpore to make yet another representation to your Honour if they cannot accept the representation as final, and I would once more beg you to accept my suggestion and consult

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

some Moslem Ulama and Moslem lawyers in the matter. I cannot, of course, refrain from commenting on this affair if the decision is given against what I believe to be a genuine complaint but I would rather I do not have to comment on this matter at all, and that on a reconsideration your Honour found that you could respect our prejudices in the matter.

With kindest regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Delhi, 9th June, 13.

(Sd.) MOHAMED ALI.

MY DEAR MOHAMED ALI,—I much regret the delay, due to pressure of other work, which has prevented me from sending an earlier answer to your letter of the 9th June, 1913, on the subject of the Machhli Bazar Mosque in Cawnpore. I greatly appreciate your writing to me so clearly and yet in so friendly a spirit, and I will endeavour, as always, to reply in a similar tone.

2. I have reconsidered with much care, and in consultation with many visitors of all classes, the decision which has been already published about the removal of the mosque *dalan*, (I call it by that name without prejudice, as the lawyers say.) I was most anxious to satisfy myself that the orders, though final so far as I was concerned, were not also unjust or inconsiderate; and after careful thought, I do not see that this can justly be said of them.

3. The *dalan* has long been shown on the A. B. Road maps as marked for acquisition and removal. No

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

protest against its removal was made to me when I was on the spot in connection with the adjacent temple : and my guarantee that the mosque should not be destroyed had no reference to a *dalan* which is obviously an architectural excrescence and which I was confidently assured by the responsible officers is not an integral part of the sacred building.

4. The protests against the removal of the *dalan* did not begin to reach me until several months after the decision to spare the Hindu temple had been promulgated. This naturally caused me to investigate whether they represented a genuine grievance, or an after-thought suggested by the concession to the Hindus and by the desire to secure some corresponding privilege for the Muhammadan community. An important fact to be ascertained for this purpose was the treatment of the *dalan* by the Muhammadans themselves. On this point I consulted Mr. Sim; and he at once told me that when the Muhammadans took him to see the *dalan* they crowded into it with their shoes on. I am not unfamiliar with the usages and sentiments on this subject, having visited many mosques myself with devout Muhammadans. I accordingly took Mr. Sim's statement (the correctness of which I unreservedly accept) as conclusive evidence that the *dalan* has not the same sanctity as the masjid proper. This evidence is a very different matter from the suggestion in your letter that Mr. Tyler entered the *dalan* wearing his boots, in order to show that it was not sacred ground. My conclusions were drawn from what the Muhammadans themselves did.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

5. It was in consideration of this evidence of the attitude of the Muhammadans when I was in Cawnpore myself, and of the belated nature of the objections, that I passed the orders I did, and described them as final. I should not have done so if I had any fear of wounding genuine susceptibilities or violating the religious sense of any body of men. There seemed to me and there still seems to me, no risk of such apprehension. Dislike to change there may be, and resentment of interference with the old and familiar. But the cry of outraged religious sentiment I regarded as exaggerated and not wholly sincere. I believed that, by replacing the *dalan* in another and equally suitable site and by giving reasonable help to the mosque or its appanages, we should make compensation for any temporary inconvenience to the worshippers, or for any change in their accustomed routine. We are ready to make ample compensation in this way. The alternative, as you point out, would have been to deflect the road, or to allow the *dalan* to project into it. This would in itself have been a small matter. But to what extent are public improvements to be obstructed by minor concessions to individuals or sections of the community?

6. Believe me I should have been very glad to avoid this pother; but we must all agree, if we wish for the public good, to discriminate between the big things and the small. If every inconsiderable trouble is to be magnified into a racial grievance and accepted as such then good-bye to the usefulness of Government

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

and to the advance of the public welfare. When I go to Cawnpore next month, I will see the Muhammadans and do what I can to remove any feeling of soreness which I should sincerely regret. But I am afraid that I cannot alter the decision to move the *dalan* out of the alignment of the A. B. Road. I am none the less grateful to you for putting the matter before me so fairly and frankly as you have done.

Yours sincerely,

GOVERNMENT HOUSE: (Sd.) J. S. MESTON.

Nainital, 2nd July, 1913.

The reply to the memorial submitted through Mr. Shahid Husain was received by the Mahomedans with grave anxiety and disappointment, and in the helplessness of their position, they found that no good results were likely to come out of the correspondence between Mr. Mohamed Ali and His Honour. The Mahomedans, therefore, submitted another memorial through the Raja of Mahmoodabad in which the whole case was argued at considerable length. Meanwhile in a meeting of the Board held on the 20th May a resolution was moved to to the effect that "the Board recommends that the Government be pleased to reconsider its decision." But the Chairman proposed an amendment that "no further representation be made by the Board and that the Government order be accepted as final." A heated discussion arose at the meeting. Hindu and Mahomedan

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

members strongly opposed the amendment and it could only be carried by the casting vote of the Chairman.

Now, under the Land Acquisition Act notices have to be served on all persons whose properties are proposed to be acquired. In conformity with the law, these notices were served upon all other house-owners concerned. But so far as it is known by the public of Cawnpore, no legal notice was served on the Mutwallis of the Machhli Bazar Mosque until the afternoon of the 29th of July.

Men were sent to take measurement of the *dalan* of the mosque. But the Mutwallis of the mosque did not take the matter at all seriously as their memorial was then pending the decision of the head of the Government. But on the 29th of June, at 3 p. m., one of the Mutwallis of the mosque received a notice issued by a Deputy Magistrate to the effect that under orders of the Collector, dated the 29th June, the Mutwalli was called upon to call at the Deputy Magistrate's bungalow between 2 p. m. and 5 p. m. on that day, to get information about the award. This was the first notice that was served personally on the Mutwalli under the Land Acquisition Act. The Mutwalli and others whom he at once consulted, were at their wit's end. But the Mutwalli did not see the Magistrate issuing the notice as no question of award could ever arise as the question of the acquisition of any portion of the mosque was never discussed with them.

A ray of hope, however, brightened the countenance of the Moslems when Sir James Meston visited

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Cawnpore on the 30th June. They hoped that His Honour's visit would bring peace to disturbed Cawnpore by a satisfactory settlement of the mosque question in view of their memorial. They had ample faith in the decision of the Lieutenant Governor. Even to this time the Cawnpore Moslems never lost hopes. Little did they know on the 30th of June what was in store for them on the morrow.

DEMOLITION AND UNREST.

Early in the morning of the 1st of July, the neighbourhood of the Machhli Bazar Mosque was in great commotion at the sight of a large number of unwelcome visitors. The mosque was soon surrounded by a force of armed Police with fixed bayonets who guarded the various approaches to the mosque. It soon became evident that the authorities intended to carry out the demolition of that portion of the mosque which stood in the way of the new road. Mounted police patrolled the neighbouring streets and kept moving the crowds that had gathered. The demolition was carried on in the presence of the District Magistrate and several police officers who were present on the spot. After demolition, the party retired at 10-30 a. m. The news of the demolition of a portion of the mosque spread like wild fire from one end of the city to the other and into the suburbs, casting a gloom over the Mahomedan populace. Several thousands of Mahomedans including a large number of mill and factory hands visited the mosque during the day and in the evening a huge mass meeting was held at the I'dgah. Great consternation

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

and excitement prevailed at the meeting. At the close of the meeting the following telegram was sent to His Excellency the Viceroy :—

“The following resolution passed by Cawnpore
“Muhammadans to-day in a general meeting to inform
“Your Excellency that unprecedented sacrilege of
“Cawnpore Machhli Bazar Mosque by authorities with
“the aid of armed police, without waiting the result of
“memorial submitted to His Honour the Lieutenant-
“Governor. Proceedings illegal and unknown since
“British Rule in India. Excitement greatest. Request
“intervention and restoration of the sacred building in
“the same place.”

The feeling of the Moslems ran very high and the demolition of the mosque became the only topic of the day. This chapter of the unhappy incident ends with a touch of humour. The reply to the second memorial of the Mahomedans was issued from Nainital on the 2nd of July.

Two Trustees of the Machhli Bazar Mosque issued a long statement detailing the event that led to the demolition of a portion of the mosque and stating that they cannot accept compensation in any shape. The local authorities besides monetary compensation had offered a large piece of ground adjoining the mosque.

A meeting of the representatives of the various classes of Mahomedans was held on the 16th July at which the number of Trustees was raised to eleven, nine additional Trustees being nominated. These Trustees were enjoined not to do anything which was

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

contrary to Moslem laws and to consult local Mahomedan public in all matters of importance. It was further resolved to memorialise the Viceroy through the Raja of Mahmoodabad praying for the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque and to request the authorities not to remove materials of the demolished portion till the Viceroy had passed orders on the memorial. The Trustees were further directed to make enquiries regarding the origin of bogus letters, which they had received suggesting acceptance of terms offered by the local authorities.

The cry of protest and indignation that was raised at Cawnpore soon found its echo from one end of the country to the other. It became evident in no time that the Mahomedans were not in a mood to take the matter which seriously affected their religion, lying down. An all India agitation was soon contemplated and public meetings protesting against the action of the Cawnpore authorities began to be held in all important cities of India.

The following resolution was adopted at an emergency meeting of the All India Moslem League and wired to H. E. the Viceroy on July 21st:—

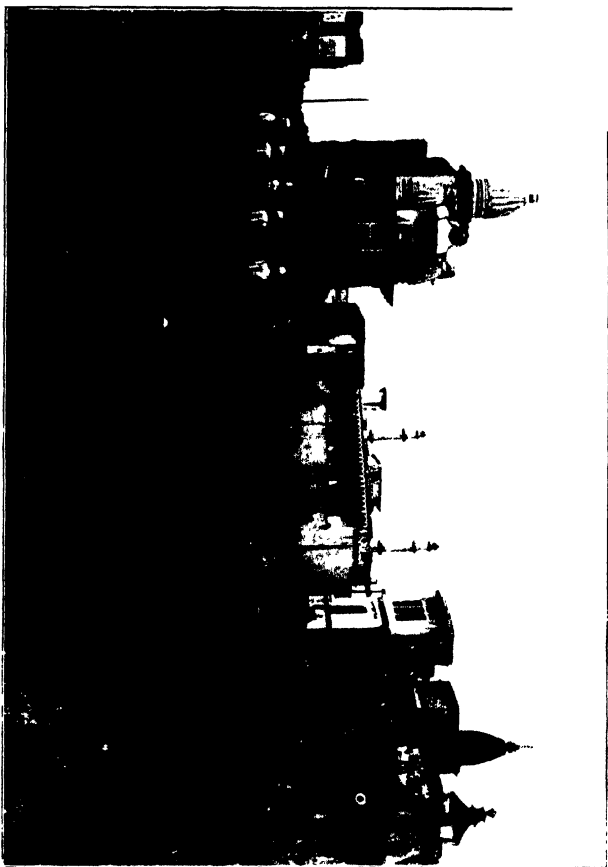
“This emergency meeting of the Council of the All India Moslem League places on record its deep sense of mortification, at the demolition of a portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore under the orders of the United Provinces Government in utter disregard of the representatives of the Moslem feeling on the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

subject, by which the religious susceptibilities of the Indian Mussalmans in general have been seriously wounded and while strongly protesting against such an act of sacrilege, in respect of a place of worship, in contravention of the Royal Proclamation of 1858, respectfully but most earnestly urges the Government of India to direct the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque, in order to allay the growing indignation of the Moslem public."

A mass meeting of the Mahomedans which was attended by more than six thousand persons including mill and factory hands who absented themselves for the morning, was held on the 23rd July at the Cawnpore I'dgah in connection with the demolition of a portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque. The terms of the memorial to be submitted to the Viceroy were explained and signatures obtained. One speaker quoted verses from the Koran showing that the portion demolished was an integral part of the mosque and urged that the agitation should be carried on in a constitutional manner and loyal spirit. Another speaker pointed out that every effort should be made to control the passion of the masses. Should the Viceroy refuse to interfere the matter would be carried up to the Secretary of State for India; and if they failed everywhere, then such steps would be taken as were sanctioned by their religion.

The following resolution was passed by the



Machhli Bazar Mosque

*Showing the demolished portion and heaps of brick lying about, which according to the
representative of the 'Dharm' is said to be the work of the British.*

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Council of the Madras Presidency Moslem League and wired to the Viceroy : The Council of the Madras Presidency Moslem League in a meeting held on the 27th expressed great regret at the action of the United Provinces Government in demolishing a portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque of Cawnpore. They earnestly pray that His Excellency will be pleased to allay the growing feeling of the Moslems by ordering the restoration of the demolished portion."

At a mass meeting held at Bankipore on July 31st it was resolved "that the Mussalmans of Behar Province strongly condemn the sacrilege committed by the Government of the United Provinces in demolishing an integral part of the Cownpore Machhli Bazar Mosque in direct contravention of the recognised constitution and settled policy of British Government in India of non-interference with the religion of the people of the country and this mass meeting prays that His Excellency the Viceroy be pleased to reconsider the order of the United Provinces Government and to order the construction of the demolished portion of the mosque and thereby restore the confidence of the Indian Mussalmans. It was further resolved "that this meeting of the Mussalmans conveys its appreciation of the firm stand of the Cawnpore Mussalmans in vehemently protesting against the order of the United Provinces Government."

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

A PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The following press *Communique* was posted to all papers.—A considerable excitement, it appears, has been aroused in the Mahomedan circles in connection with the removal on the 1st July of a small building attached to what is known as the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore, the All-India Moslem League memorializing the Government on the subject. We hear of meetings and protests from various parts of the country. It is probable that the facts of the case are not exactly known even to some of the organisations from which protests are now emanating. In Cawnpore itself there is comparatively little excitement among the Mahomedan community on the subject.

In the course of a much-needed Municipal Improvement Scheme in Cawnpore, a project was matured and sanctioned for running a new road through the densely populated areas between Mouleganj and Dufferin Hospital. Intention to take up the necessary lands and buildings was duly notified as far back as November, 1909. Land plans were deposited for public inspection in the Collector's Office. The plans indicated that the temple known as the Tili's temple would be removed and also the outer or eastern courtyard of the Machhli Bazar Mosque which is not far from the temple. At first serious objections were raised in connection with the removal of the temple—a handsome building with a peculiar and pathetic history. The representations were addressed to the authorities about the temple but no action, it appears, has been taken by the Mahomedans regarding the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

mosque. In November last, when the Lieutenant Governor was at Cawnpore, he visited the ground and after an informal discussion with the Municipal members announced that the new road would be splayed in such a way as to spare the temple. The temple, to be neatly faced by the Hindus, was left as an island in the middle of the roadway which would move round it on both sides. At the time of this decision some Mahomedan gentlemen asked whether the effect of it would be to destroy the mosque. They were assured that this would not be the case, on the contrary, it was so arranged that the alignment of the road would spare the courtyard in entirety instead of cutting off a piece of it as originally intended. Only a portion of the mosque premises which would then be affected would be the narrow projection used as washing place on the extreme north-east of the main courtyard. The Improvement Trust Committee visited the mosque in February last and decided to give a plot along the north wall of the building in lieu of the condemned washing place. Towards the end of March letters began to appear in some newspapers protesting against the interference with mosque premises whatever. A petition was sent up to the Local Government asking that the eastern portion of the mosque should not be acquired and destroyed. The reply of the Local Government was to point out that no part of the building was now to be removed except the washing place. It is understood that after passing several conflicting resolutions the Municipal Board finally decided to proceed with the acquisition. An award

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

was made under the Land Acquisition Act at the end of June. On the 1st July, the washing place was removed under precaution to prevent a breach of the peace. Some of the protests which have since been pouring in appear to suggest that the whole mosque has been desecrated or demolished. The truth is that a small building which projected from the eastern wall of the mosque across the alignment of the new road is all that has been removed. It was a narrow raised platform, with a drain running through it and a privy at the end, the whole structure being nine feet broad by twenty eight feet long roofed over in contrast to the open courtyard which was used for devotions of worshippers. It has been urged in some protests that the building was of equal sanctity with the rest of the mosque. The best comment on this is the fact that the Chairman of the Board went to visit the building. The Mahomedans who accompanied him entered it with shoes on and pile of shoes were seen lying on the platform inside. The Local Government has expressed its intention of rebuilding the washing place on the north side of the mosque in equally convenient position. There seems little doubt that the local Bisatis who are Trustees of the mosque would have accepted this reasonable settlement of their case some time ago, if pressure had not been brought to bear upon them from outside to resist any settlement. The whole occurrence has been greatly exaggerated and misrepresented. There has been no other intention on the part of the local authorities throughout than to treat the mosque and the Trustees with every consideration.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

STATEMENT BY MUTWALLIS

The Mutwallis of the Cawnpore Mosque has circulated the following statement in reply to the Press *Communique* issued by the U. P. Government :

In the Press *Communique* issued by the Government of these Provinces on the 25th July, 1913, regarding the Machhli Bazar Mosque, the Government is pleased to say that no action was taken by the Mussalmans regarding the mosque, although the necessary notification was issued in November, 1909, and the plan was also then deposited in the Collector's Office. This plan indicated that the eastern courtyard of the mosque would be removed. His Honour the Lieutenant Governor visited Cawnpore in November last and spared the Hindu temple on the representation of the Hindu community and also gave the Mussalmans to understand "that the only portion of the mosque which would then be affected would be a narrow projection used as a washing place on the extreme north-east of the main courtyard." The *Communique* proceeding further points out that a small building which projected from the eastern wall of the mosque across the alignment has been removed, it was a narrow raised platform with a drain running through it and a privy at the end, on which the Mussalmans, on the infallible evidence of the Chairman of the Municipal Board, used to enter with shoes on.

The *Communique* opens by playing with the feelings of local Mussalmans on the subject and ends by

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

saying that the Mutwallis of the mosque would have accepted settlement long ago were it not for outside pressure.

The Mutwallis wish to say that it is true that the notification was issued in 1909, but it gave no details of the buildings to be eventually acquired or demolished. Moreover, the proposed alignment has since then undergone changes more than once. The plan prepared by the Board was in the English language with which the bulk of the Mussalman public was unacquainted and who would have supposed that a notification under the Land Acquisition Act could not altogether ignore the cardinal and underlying basis of the British Constitution in India—absolute neutrality in matters of religion. The plan itself, however, is complete justification of the attitude taken up by the Mussalmans. There is no mention—intentional or by mistake—of the acquisition of Municipal number 90 which the mosque bears. Only a portion of house No. 89 is shown as likely to be acquired. Moreover, the Muhammedan public was indifferent as regards the municipal plan referred to.

In November last when His Honour visited Cawnpore, his attention was drawn to the memorial of the Mussalmans. In an informal meeting of the members, His Honour was pleased to say as has been already reported in the local paper the *Herald of India* that both the Temple and the Mosque would not be interfered with. This view was further supported by the reply given by His Honour to the memorial of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore and the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

recommendation made by the Municipal Board to spare the portion of the mosque now demolished. His Honour then made no mention of the courtyard or the *dalan* of the mosque. The courtyard was not under discussion then and to call the *dalan* of the mosque as a washing or bathing place is simply going against the real fact and the bare truth.

The portion demolished was situate inside the eastern wall of the mosque and not outside it. It appears that here too the local officials have succeeded in producing in His Honour's mind a wrong impression of the real state of affairs.

It is true that there was a drain in the *dalan* of the mosque which carried the ablution water outside the mosque into the Municipal drain, but the western portion of it has always been used for offering prayers and to say that there was a privy in this *dalan* is again merely misrepresenting the facts. There can be no privy inside a mosque and it is much to be regretted that His Honour with all his knowledge of Moslem traditions should have also accepted this—a revelation in Mussalman circles.

The statement of the Chairman of the Municipal Board that he saw the Mussalmans enter this portion of the mosque with shoes on is undoubtedly wrong. We took the liberty of asking the Chairman to point out the occasions on which he saw the Mussalmans so enter. The Chairman has declined to give a reply on this point. According to the Moslem faith the *mimbar*, and the altar possess equal sanctity with the rest of the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

building of a mosque. The Mussalmans absolutely deny that they ever entered the *dalan* with shoes on and they challenge any proof to the contrary.

We have not accepted any compensation or grant for the demolished portion of the mosque nor will we ever do so, in accordance with the tenets of our religion. This we have declared publicly in the press. We confess we are unable to realize the true and inner significance, if any, of the statement that there is want of genuineness of feelings among the Mussalmans of Cawnpore. If by agitation is meant that the Mussalmans should overstep the bounds of law and order, then surely the very religion which compels us to protest against the high-handedness of the Government officials forbids our doing so. But if by agitation is meant agitation on constitutional lines which confines itself to criticising the action of the Government, in the strongest possible language compatible with law and order in monster and crowded meetings, and if by agitation is meant the seeking of redress by means of memorials and deputations, from the very Government in which the Mussalmans have not lost confidence and who have been sorely tried by this wanton act of high-handedness on the part of some of its officials, then the Mussalmans of Cawnpore may justly claim that they have not lagged behind despite grave risks.

Note.—A pamphlet containing full particulars about the mosque will shortly be issued, which will lay bare the real truth.

(Sd). Md. Abdul Kadir Azad Subhani, Abdur Rahim, Sanauddin, Md. Ismail, H. Mohd. Hashim, Md.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Siddiq, Karim Ahmad, H. Mohd. Kamruddin, H. Mohd. Hanif, H. Ahmed Ullah, Mohd. Majid Ahmed—Secretary.

CALCUTTA PROTEST MEETING

An overflow meeting of the Mahomedans of Calcutta and its suburbs was held at the Town Hall on Sunday afternoon (3rd August) to protest against the action of the United Provinces Government in demolishing a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque and other matters. The Hon'ble Nawab Nawabali Chaudhuri Khan Bahadur presided. The meeting was very enthusiastic. Such was the enthusiasm of the Mahomedans that all shops owned by them at Colootola, Amratola, Lower Chitpur Road and other places were closed. The gathering was a huge one, every one who attended it was led away by religious feeling and smarted under a sense of wrong. No less than fifteen thousand people representing all classes of Mahomedans attended.

As the number of the people present far exceeded the capacity of the Hall, three other open air meetings were held on the maidan and on the ground-floor of the Hall.

After the Sheriff declared the meeting open, the Hon'ble Moulvi Fazlal Huq proposed and Moulvi Abdur Rahman Baksh Elahi seconded that the Hon'ble Nawab Nawabali Chaudhuri do take the Chair.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

A prayer was then said by a Moulana.

The President rising amid loud and vociferous cheers in the course of his address said :—

Gentlemen,—I do not use the language of convention when I say that I consider it a very great honour to be asked to preside over the deliberations this afternoon. The gathering which I see before me in this historic Hall represents all classes of the Mussalman community in the metropolis and the suburbs and I also see before me leading Mahomedans from all important districts in the Presidency. An assemblage of such great importance and significance full of Ulama, leading merchants, zemindars, leading men of the various professions, representing all shades of opinion in our community is proof positive, if proof indeed were needed, that the deliberations, in which we are going to take part, concern matters of the utmost importance to the community. I am not one of those who would rush into the arena of political agitation for the sake of notoriety, or who would consent to publicly criticise the action of the authorities unless I am sincerely and deeply convinced that such criticism is imperatively necessary in the interest of the administration itself. From all that I have heard, and from all that I have read about the unfortunate happenings at Cawnpore and about the mosques at Delhi and Agra, the conviction has irresistibly forced itself on my mind that the feelings of the Mahomedan community have been very deeply stirred, that the minds of all classes in our community are in a

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

state of ferment, and that there is ample reason for this state of feelings. I have, therefore, considered it my duty not only to be present at this meeting but to thankfully accept the great honour you have done me by selecting me as your President in order that I may discharge my duty to the community to which I have the honour to belong and also to the Government to which we are bound by all the ties of loyalty and devotion, by interpreting to the authorities the true feelings of the Mahomedan community in these matters. At a critical moment such as this, when even the best intentioned error of judgment on the part of the Government may provide a turning point in the ideas and feelings of the Mussalmans, would it be right for any of us who claims to be devoted to Government to keep aloof from the counsel of his community and give Government the wholly wrong and misleading impression that the feelings to which I have referred are confined to a few zealous agitators and have not permeated every stratum of Muslim society in India ?

No, gentlemen, these are not the views and opinions of a few misguided enthusiasts or of mischief-mongers bent on misguiding their co-religionists. These are the views and opinion of all classes of Mussalmans and I do not interpret my duty to Government as silence or serene assurances that may lead Government to the edge of precipice. I hold that it is the duty of every loyalist to warn the Government in time and save it from unrealized and incalculable dangers. What would the general of an army think of his scouts who gave

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

false assurances about the dangers of an advanced movement merely to confirm his own fancies?

In the next place, let me assure Government that it would be a mistake to suppose that an agitation of such magnitude and importance is at all a local affair or merely got up for the occasion. Its roots lie buried deep down in the most cherished religious conviction of a community the binding form of which is neither race nor colour but religion. It is this which makes the affair of a mosque as much an affair of Calcutta as of Cawnpore, as much an affair of Dacca as of Delhi. That is the justification of our assembling here to-day and let me assure Government that no wire-pulling beyond Bengal was necessary in a matter in which our religious duty has been tugging at our heart strings ever since the 1st of July.

Coming now to the matter in hand, there is no doubt that the portion of the Cawnpore Mosque which has been demolished is an integral part of the mosque itself. The *Fatwas* of the Ulama leave no room for doubt that this portion is as sacred as any other part of the mosque. Even if it be accepted for argument's sake that the eastern *dalan* of the mosque was a place only utilised for purposes of ablutions and not also for prayers, can any one who knows anything about our mosque believe that shoes were taken to a place where ablutions were made? From everything which the authorities have published, it appears that the only evidence against the contention of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore which the authorities have is that the Chairman of the Municipality

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

states that he saw some shoes in the eastern *dalan* and when he went in with his shoes on the Mussalmans of Cawnpore followed his example. This single statement, contrary to the most complete and categorical denials of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore to which the Chairman has nothing to say, has been unreservedly accepted by the Lieutenant Governor and without offering the least chance for a cross-examination of rebutting evidence, Sir James Meston has not only given judgment against the Mussalmans but has also had it executed even before it was delivered.

The Cawnpore sacrilege was preceded by an act of similar sacrilege at Delhi and followed by a similar lamentable affair at Agra and has created a universal apprehension that the authorities are growing indifferent to the religious susceptibilities of the Mahomedan community. Apprehensions like this create such grave dangers for Government that it is our bounden duty to bring them to its notice. After this we expect that the Government would also do its duty and remove them by action which will be both appropriate and effective.

It is well known that all important cities of India are full of mosques, tombs and shrines of saints held in the highest veneration by all classes of the community. Schemes of City Improvement are being pushed on with utmost vigour and enthusiasm all over India and it is not impossible that under excess of zeal, though with the best of intentions, officials may overlook the veneration due to these sacred places. We should bring home to the authorities the duties

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

they owe to an important section of His Majesty's subjects in India, a section of His Majesty's subjects whose loyalty to the King has only been exceeded by their submission to the Commandments of their God. Therefore, while expressing our resentment at what has taken place, let us request Government to take all reparation that is now within its power, and make such action as may effectively prevent sacrileges in the future. I am informed that His Honour Sir James Meston is about to receive a deputation of some eminent Mussalmans on the subject. Let us hope, Sir James would himself see the error of the policy hitherto followed and order the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque. In any case, His Excellency the Viceroy is sure to do justice and we look to him to heal our wounded feelings.

The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlal Huq M. A., B. L., Vakil High Court and a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, moved the following resolution :

That this meeting of the Mussalmans of Calcutta and its suburbs most emphatically asserts that according to the principles of the Mahomedan religion and law, the portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore which has been forcibly demolished by the U. P. authorities, is an integral part and as sacred as any other part of the said mosque, and it strongly protests against the various misrepresentations contained in the recent official *Communique* in connection therewith.

He said that no matter what the consequence might be, no matter what the difficulties might be in their way,

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

they were determined to make it plain to Government that in the matter of their religious susceptibilities, they would not allow even their highest officials to interfere.

Mr. Khursed Hussain, Vakil, seconded and Maulvi Abdul Raoof and Maulvi Abdul Ahed supported the resolution which was carried.

Mr. Abul Kasem moved :

That this meeting expresses its deep sense of resentment and indignation at the sacrilegious conduct of the U. P. authorities and thereby seriously interfering with the religious liberty of His Majesty's subjects assured under the Royal Proclamation of 1858, the Charter of the Indian people.

He said that the official *Communique* stated that the portion of the mosque demolished was not an integral part. Who was to decide that ? The Mohomedans or the members of the Indian Civil Service ? The Mahomedans and the Mutwallis were the proper persons to decide that question. They had met there that day under the shadow of a calamity unprecedented in the history of the country.

Nawab Nasir Husain Khayal seconded the resolution which was carried.

The Hon. Maulvi Mahomed Tahir moved :

That this meeting respectfully requests His Excellency the Viceroy to direct the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque, and urges upon the Government to take such action as may be necessary to ensure in future due respect of the authorities for the religious sentiments of the community.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Mr. S. M. Shareef seconded, and Mirza Ahmed Ali and Moulvi Kazim Hossain supported the resolution which was carried.

Mr. Mohamed Ali also spoke at the meeting. Mr. Ali, however, dwelt elaborately on the Turkish affair. So far as the demolition of the mosque at Cawnpore was concerned, he said that he was afraid that it would be reported to the Government that another agitator came all the way from Delhi to excite peaceful Calcutta. The Government said that there was no agitation in Cawnpore but the agitation was excited by outside agitators. For his own part, he came to Calcutta on his own private business and as a matter of fact did not even know that there was a meeting to be held till the day before. He thought of not taking any active part in the meeting as it would be viewed by the Government that an outsider had come to excite Calcutta Moslems. But it seemed to him afterwards that whether he did anything or not, whether he took part or not, it was sure that it would be reported that he came here to excite the Mahomedans of Calcutta. A Persian Poet says addressing God :—

“If thou knowest without my uttering it, why not I utter it.” So he ventured to take part in the proceedings but he would confine himself to the question of Turkey. If outside agitators had been very zealous of the Cawnpore affair, it was not because it was a Cawnpore affair but it was a Moslem affair. A mosque was the same whether it was in Delhi or Calcutta or Cawnpore. Regarding the excitement at Cawnpore,

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the speaker said that he had not been to Cawnpore himself except that he met one or two influential Mahomedans at the Cawnpore station on his way to Calcutta. He was assured by them that it was only the other day that there was a crowd of eleven thousand Mussalmans, despite inclement weather, who assembled at Cawnpore to protest against the sacrilege. Whosoever said that there was no excitement in Cawnpore said what was not true. The speaker himself was repeatedly told by Cawnpore Mahomedans that the *Comrade* should have taken a stronger attitude than it had hitherto done. As a matter of fact, he was told by the Cawnpore people that had it not been for his very strong advice that nothing unconstitutional should be attempted, there would have been bloodshed on the 1st July when the portion of the mosque was demolished.

THE RIOT AND AFTER

A serious riot in connection with the Machhli Bazar Mosque took place on the 3rd August at 10-30 a.m. A mass meeting of Mahomedans was held in the morning at the I'dgah on account of which the Mahomedans had closed all their places of business, including the meat, vegetable and fruit markets. The meeting was attended by a large number of Mahomedans, who went to the I'dgah bare-headed as a sign of mourning. What transpired at the meeting was not reported, but it was understood that the meeting was held in connection with the re-taking of Adrianople and the Machhli Bazar Mosque.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

After the meeting a crowd of some four or five hundred Mahomedans, following a black flag, marched up to the Machhli Bazar Mosque, and after a few minutes' stay began to pile the loose bricks of the demolished portion of the mosque, which were lying close at hand, one upon another, with a view to rebuild a portion of the wall. The City Inspector of Police and the Sub-Inspector of Colonelganj Thana were present at the Gillis Bazar Chowki, and the Sub-Inspector at first tried to ride up to the crowd, but after receiving some stones and brick-bats, retired. He was joined by the City Inspector and later on by a number of police constables belonging to the Chowki. The crowd assumed a threatening attitude.

The City Inspector and his men retired and were followed by some of the crowd, including a large number of boys, who pursued them up to the Chowki and the policemen had, therefore, to take shelter behind the Chowki. Those that had followed the policemen, after doing slight injury to property in the Chowki, went back to the mosque.

The number of those who now gathered near the mosque was considerable, far more than a thousand, including a large number of spectators. The authorities had meanwhile been apprised of what was taking place and soon after Mr. Tyler, District Magistrate, with a force of armed police, both foot and mounted, reached the spot. Keeping his force a little distance behind, Mr. Tyler rode alone towards the crowd which was near the mosque. After he had gone a

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

short distance brick-bats and stones were thrown at him, at which he halted and waited for some time for the crowd to disperse. The crowd was, however, in no mood to disperse, and as stones and brick-bats, of which there was a large quantity near at hand, continued to be thrown at him he called the assistance of his force. The firing of some rounds of blank cartridges did not produce any effect and, therefore, the order to fire with ball had to be given. As a result of the firing, which was kept up for ten minutes, the crowd eventually dispersed.

Several persons were killed and a number injured, including several policemen, who in the *melee* were injured, some of the latter receiving shots fired by the police. One policeman was dead. So far altogether 12 dead and 33 injured persons were brought to the hospital. Several spectators, including Hindus, received serious injuries. The Superintendent of Police also received injury. Numerous arrests were made.

The following details were wired to the press as being officially received in connection with the riot by the correspondent of the Associated Press on, the 3rd August :—

"I regret to report an unfortunate occurrence at Cawnpore this morning. Local Mahomedans, taunted by outside agitators with apathy in religious matters, held a mass meeting in the I'dgah this morning. Afterwards, carrying black flags, they surged to the Machhli Bazar Mosque and started to rebuild the demolished portion, a small projection outside the courtyard. Volleys of stones

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

were thrown at the police, and the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were summoned to the spot, with the result that the police were compelled to fire on the crowd and charge with mounted police. It is reported that 30 to 40 rioters were killed and wounded, and several policemen were injured. Quiet was restored by noon."

The correspondent added :—

"His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, who is at Bareilly on his monsoon tour, leaves that place by special train to-night, and should be in Cawnpore early on Monday morning, when he will hold a full enquiry into the facts. It is unfortunate the riot should have occurred as the Lieutenant Governor was to have met a deputation of the moderate section of the Mahomedans on the 9th and he had undertaken to visit the mosque and receive a formal statement of their grievances."

The same correspondent obtained the following further particulars from the district authorities :—

"The Mahomedans held a mass meeting this morning at the I'dgah. At its conclusion they marched in a body to the Machhli Bazar Mosque and set about re-constructing the demolished building, at the same time attacking the civil police present with brick-bats. Police reinforcements were called and they were similarly attacked. The police then opened fire and charged the mob and cleared the mosque and its surroundings. The casualties were :— Rioters 13 killed, 28 injured. Police, one killed, 35 to 40 injured."

In another message the correspondent said :—

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

"Altogether seventeen persons have died as the result of injuries received in connection with Sunday's disturbance. One policeman who died received accidentally shots which were fired by the police force. There are some forty-five persons lying injured in hospital, three or four of whom are not expected to survive. The injured include some fifteen policemen who received more or less slight injuries as compared with the injuries inflicted on the rioters. More than one hundred and fifty arrests were made including Moulana Sheikh Abdul Qader Azad Subhani, Principal, Madrasa Alinayat, a religious seminary, and well known in Mahomedan literary circles, Shiek Hafizulla, the well-known hide merchant and Sheikh Qamruddin—all Trustees of the mosque and conveners of Sunday's meeting, Hafizulla, Said Khan, Mahomed Yasin and Mohammad Ismail. Late on Sunday evening some forty-five boys who were in custody were released. It is understood the rest were produced before the Joint Magistrate when the police obtained a remand for ten days."

The following are further official details of the riot at Cawnpore on Sunday last :—

"The story of the very serious disturbance at Cawnpore is as follows :—While moderate Mahomedans were awaiting the result of the deputation on the Lieutenant Governor on the 9th August, the feelings of the populace were being excited by attacks of newspapers and by taunts. They had shown no zeal for religion. A mass meeting was attempted on July 23rd, but it was a failure. Sunday was selected for another meeting,

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

being a holiday at the mills. Strenuous efforts were made by circulating printed notices and personal canvassing to secure a big attendance. The meeting took place at the I'dgah. Estimates of attendance vary from 10,000 to 25,500. Speeches were made, and though some were moderate the meeting was closed by a fiery address by the local Moulvi. The audience surged towards the city, mostly bare-footed and bare-headed, black flags flying and the *Kalama* shouted. At about 10 o'clock the Machhli Bazar Mosque was reached. The City Kotwal proceeded there and warned the civil police of the two adjoining outposts to watch the events. The crowd surrounded and entered the mosque. Cries of "build it up at once" arose and a number of men began to pile up the bricks on the site of the demolished washing place. A wild scene of uproar and excitement followed. The Kotwal with some mounted police approached the crowd and was received with abuses and brick-bats. Civil police were brought from the adjoining two outposts. They were set upon and mercilessly beaten with *lathis* and belaboured with stones. Meanwhile, the Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police had been informed of the outbreak. The armed police whom Superintendent Dodd had been holding in readiness were ordered out by the Magistrate, Mr. Tyler, and Mr. Dodd led them at once to the scene. Halting the police, Mr. Tyler rode up to the mob and attempted to reason with them but he received a shower of bricks and had to retire. The unrest by this time grew tremendous and the crowd pressed forward to attack the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

police. The Magistrate had given order to fire, but the rioters were soon so mixed up with the police that volley firing was impossible. Mr. Dodd then made a division. A collection of his handful of *Sowars* led an effective charge, which stormed the advance of the mob and allowed the armed police to advance. They had to fight their way to the mosque inch by inch. The mosque was held in force and from it showers of bricks and stones still continued. By this time, turbulent spirits, scattering the police, were able to seal up the mosque and surrounded the body of rioters in the open space in front of it. About 170 arrests were made. The dead and wounded on the ground were carried off. By mid-day complete order was restored. Although rumours of further outbreaks were prevalent, no further violence was attempted and the city was absolutely quiet.

The total casualties as far as known at present were 18 killed, 27 wounded rioters. The police suffered severely, 24 including Mr. Dodd, were more or less badly hurt. One constable in plain clothes got entangled in the crowd and was killed with buckshot.

The wounded received attention from Captain Simpson, Civil Surgeon. The Magistrate ordered the release of 40 boys out of 131 then in detention.

A feeling of intense depression was felt over the city."

The author as special correspondent of the *Bengalee* wired the following description of the riot and the situation at Cawnpore after that unhappy incident :—

I have already stated under what circumstances the demolition of the mosque was hurried through. The

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

local authorities did not even care to await the reply to the second memorial. No interest would have suffered if the act of demolition had been delayed one day more. The Mahomedan mind was utterly exasperated by the action of the local authorities. It gave a rude shock to the religious susceptibilities of the Mussalmans. They gathered round the banner of Islamic brotherhood. Prayers were offered to invoke the blessings of God. Two great protest meetings were held at Cawnpore and the cry was taken up, as we saw later on, by the Mahomedan India. A mass meeting was fixed for Sunday, to be held in the Cawnpore I'dgah. That fateful day will ever be remembered by the Mahomedans for the black tragedy that took place at Cawnpore. From early morning Moslems in their thousands wended their way to the I'dgah bare-headed and carrying black flags as a mark of mourning. Excitement ran high and at the meeting several speeches were delivered exhorting the people to stand on their sacred rights.

After the meeting was over, the procession divided itself into three batches. One batch, composed mostly of young boys, overtook the rest of the procession and soon appeared before the mosque. They recited the *Kalama*. The elderly people among the batch beat their breasts in sorrow in the same way as we see in the Mohurram procession in Calcutta. By this time there were not more than 250 people in the compound. It is admitted on all hands that some of these people began to pile loose bricks which were lying in abundance all over the place. This is what has been described as an

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

attempt at rebuilding the demolished portion of the mosque. A Mahomedan Police Sub-Inspector rode up to the people and asked them to disperse but, it is said, that brick-bats were thrown at him. He retired and soon came back with the Inspector of Police. Both the officers shouted to the crowd to desist from rebuilding the wall, but a shower of brick-bats came in reply. The two officers then brought to their assistance a *posse* of constables who attempted to make a dash at the crowd but their number proved quite inadequate for the purpose and they had to retreat to the thana amid the hurling of brick-bats. The crowd now gathered in strength, other batches of the procession coming up in the meantime. The crowd which followed the retreating policemen came up to the Chowki and threw brick-bats there also. It then returned to the mosque. The accounts are conflicting as to what took place afterwards. I did my best to find out what actually happened and to my mind it appears that the account of the subsequent stage of the riot as published in the *Cawnpore Journal* gives a very faithful description of it.

Meanwhile, the authorities had been apprised of what had taken place and at about quarter to eleven the District Magistrate, Mr. H. G. S. Tyler, accompanied by the Superintendent of Police and an armed force of mounted and foot police reached the spot. Stationing his men behind him, Mr. Tyler alone rode towards the crowd which had considerably augmented and gathered near the mosque and after he had gone some distance in the direction of the crowd some stones and

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

brick-bats were thrown at him. At this Mr. Tyler halted and waited for some time for the crowd to disperse. The crowd apparently was not willing to disperse and as stones and brick-bats began to be thrown at Mr. Tyler in large numbers, he ordered the police force to advance. This also had no effect on the mob who continued to throw stones and began to advance towards the police. The police, thereupon, fired some rounds of blank cartridges and as this also had no effect, order to fire was given to the police. This soon had the desired effect and as the crowd showed signs of falling back the mounted police with their swords flashing charged the mob which was then in flight.

A number of spectators including several Hindus received the shots that were fired, a particularly sad case being that of a young man who was standing on the terrace of a neighbouring house and received shots which proved fatal. Some other Hindus were also more or less seriously injured.

In the next place we shall see if the fatal riot could have been avoided.

The mass meetings that had been held previous to the 3rd of August were sufficient indications of the discontent of the people, apart from anything else.

A large percentage of ordinary Mahomedans of Cawnpore is mill hands and past experience in different parts of the country shows that this class of people easily lose the balance of their mind and with a slight provocation are infuriated to commit a breach of the peace. Now, there was cause for great provocation here. The

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Mahomedans felt that there had been unkind interference in their religious matter and their most sacred rights had been trampled under foot. What led the local authorities to believe that the Mahomedans would take the sudden demolition of a portion of their sacred mosque peacefully lying down? Take it from the official standpoint. It is said that the agitation was engineered from outside. Assuming that that was so, what guarantee was there that the same agency might not incite the agitators to do something more than merely holding meetings and bemoaning their lots?

A very pertinent question may be asked, why in these circumstances no precaution was taken to guard the mosque? I have ascertained from different sources that the mill hands made no secret of their intentions to rebuild the mosque. What made the local officials slight that persistent rumour and not take any precaution? I am not constrained to believe that the rumour did not reach them. Besides the ordinary police there are C. I. D. men in Cawnpore as anywhere else and surely these officials were not *chained* all the time.

Now, come to the incident of the 3rd of August. Early in the morning, a huge procession was formed. All the Mahomedans walked bare-headed and some of them carried black flags. It was not a mere *tamasha*. It indicated the intensity of Moslem feelings. It was an ominous move, although it might have meant no immediate mischief. Why was not any precaution taken even on that day? The Sub-Inspector, it is said, approached the mob, but he was pelted with brick-bats and left the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

place. He reappeared on the scene with only the Inspector to run away again, encouraging the mob to give them a chase. A third attempt was made to bring the crowd under control with an inadequate police force who at the earliest opportunity took to heels. The mockery of Police force only encouraged the crowd to follow them up to the Chowki. The Sub-Inspector ought to have proceeded to the crowd with a large contingent of policemen all at once or should not have tried at all to bring the pressure of his own great personality on the excited crowd. Then came the Magistrate to remonstrate with the crowd. But brickbats were thrown at him also. Two ways were then open to him, either to leave the crowd to have its own way or to disperse it with an armed police force. To do the first would have been to place his official prestige at a discount. He called in the armed policemen, both mounted and foot, and gave the order to fire. Whether the crowd made a bold stand even in the presence of the armed policemen or was fired at while running, is the subject-matter of the trial that is now pending. But I have heard it stated that the policemen entered the shops and houses close by and wounded and dragged out people from inside. The by-standers were also fired at by the police. There were no doubt many more persons than those sent to hospital were wounded, if not killed. For, many people saw persons in *ekkas* and carriages bleeding profusely from their wounds. There must have been some military operations even inside the mosque itself.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

I noticed marks of blood on the inner walls and on the roof of the mosque. The marks of shots on the walls of the room went to show that some use of the rifles was made even in the prayer hall. I have yet to know if it is the case that brick-bats were thrown from inside the mosque, and if so, was any amount of this "ammunition" seized from inside the mosque.

I have received information that there are many more wounded people both in Cawnpore and the neighbouring places, who managed to escape arrest. Some of them are said to be in critical condition. It only stands to reason that many more persons were wounded as the firing from hundred and twenty rifles, it is said, continued for ten minutes.

News has reached here that Government restored a demolished mosque in Sind recently and people here also hope that better counsel shall yet prevail, and the question of the Machhli Bazar Mosque will be similarly dealt with. The situation is grave in the extreme and ought to be tackled with statesmanlike wisdom. Sympathisers and advisers are daily coming to Cawnpore from all parts of the country—from Rangoon to Peshawar and from Madras to Bundelkhand. The situation at Cawnpore has long ceased to be a mere local or even provincial question. It is the all absorbing topic of the day and must be looked at from the point of view of the whole Indian empire. It is too late in the day to talk lightly over this unfortunate incident now. I saw many respectable persons arriving in Cawnpore. They all describe the riot in very strong terms. They are

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

representative Mahomedans from different parts of India and their views are shared by the rest of the Mussalmans in the land.

The riot case is but the main offshoot of the real issue involved. In the temporary commotion over the riot case, the main question of the religious rights of the Mussalmans cannot be left in the back ground. This view is endorsed by all the representatives of that great community with whom I had occasion to discuss these matters. If seventeen lives have been lost in Cawnpore there are millions of Mahomedan lives which have been made unhappy by the action of the Cawnpore authorities. The Moslems are determined not to let their real grievance pass into obscurity by the hum-drum over the riot case. They demand a Commission of Enquiry into the development and the present state of the whole affair. This Commission, they urge, must consist of officials and non-officials—Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian.

How widely the discontent prevails and how strongly a Commission is demanded by the Mahomedans is further demonstrated by a letter which Mr. Wazir Hasan, Hony. Secretary to the All-India Moslem League, has addressed to Mr. Mazahrul Haque of Bankipore. I make the following extracts from it :—"The members present at this day's meeting are of opinion that the affairs of the Cawnpore mosque, as they have taken the turn now, clearly show that the Government of this Province has made itself a party to the whole controversy and is prepared to support the action of the local

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

authorities as is indicated by the speech of the Lieutenant Governor in reply to the address of the Agra Municipality. We think that under the circumstances the Council of the League should ask the Government of India to appoint a Committee of independent persons, whether officials or non-officials or both, to enquire into the whole matter from beginning to end. We are convinced that the action of the local authorities were absolutely unjustified. The most heartless * * * unprecedented in the annals of British administration in India has been perpetrated at Cawnpore. Old and young men and children have been shot dead on very flimsy pretext."

So the same cry comes from all parts of the country. If this and many such unequivocal expressions of sentiment do not open the eyes of some people I fail to see what will.

The poor Mahomedans appear to have been overawed by the exhibition of strength of the local authorities. They spoke mostly in whispers and looked around to see who were listening to them. Nothing can be farther from the truth than to say that the local Moslems are not very keen about the demolition of the portion of the mosque. They consulted persons well versed in the Islamic religious book (Shari'at) who gave their opinion in no ambiguous terms that the portion of the mosque used for ablutions was an integral part of the mosque and was as sacred as wherein they said their prayers. Some of those I saw were so overpowered with wounded feelings that they sobbed like boys and tears rolling

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

down their cheeks checked their utterances. They, however, sincerely believe that the authorities will, in deference to their religious susceptibilities, yet see their way to order the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque, when their prayers will have reached the higher authorities at Simla and in England.

I came back with the impression that the riot and bloodshed have driven discontent underground and if there was no manifestation of it, it was due to the terror that had seized the people. The local Mahomedans are at one in emphasising that they have not the slightest intention of doing anything that may be construed by unfriendly critics as indicative of their desire to commit a breach of the peace.

I had been inside the mosque and saw bullet marks on the walls and even inside the prayer room. A quantity of Moslem blood still paints several places on the walls and the roof and on the *durrie* that lay spread at the time.

The seventeen followers of the Prophet who were killed by the rifles of the soldiers are looked upon by the local people as martyrs and as soon as their names were mentioned, the benediction of God was uttered by those who stood surrounding me. Old Mahomedans kissed the ground on the spot where they fell.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

MAGISTRATE INTERVIEWED

The author wired the following interview with Mr. Tyler to the *Bengalee* :

I interviewed Mr. Tyler, District Magistrate of Cawnpore, at his bungalow. Mr. Tyler is a very courteous gentleman and in the course of my rather long interview he gladly replied to all the questions that I asked him relating to the recent events. He asked me what was the attitude of the *Bengalee* towards the Cawnpore affair. I told him that the *Bengalee* in its editorial said that it was all due to an error of judgment, on the part of the officials and the riot could have been avoided if sufficient precaution had been taken beforehand. The Magistrate said that he had no reason to suspect that there would be any attempt on the part of the Mahomedans to rebuild the mosque. The meeting on the 3rd August was not the first meeting at Cawnpore. Two or three other meetings had already been held and everything passed off peacefully. He naturally thought that the meeting was held only to show the intensity of Mahomedan feeling. Moreover, Mr. Tyler added, His Honour was to have received a Mahomedan deputation on Saturday and for the Mahomedans to try to rebuild the mosque or commit any breach of the peace at such a time would go against their own interest and they would not do that.

I asked him if he knew that the Kotwal had heard beforehand that the Mahomedans would rebuild the mosque. Mr. Tyler said that he had no such information. I asked him if it was possible to disperse the crowd

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

without firing at it. He said that there was no other alternative. Mr. Tyler further said that the mob was armed with *lathis*. I asked him if it was a fact that the policemen fired also inside the mosque. He said that they might have done so, as there was a large number of people there and brick-bats were also thrown from the mosque. Was it a fact, I asked, that the crowd which threw brick-bats was composed mostly of boys? Mr. Tyler said that there were many boys and the procession was arranged with the boys in front. I asked Mr. Tyler if he was aware that the policemen entered some houses and shot the inmates and dragged them out. He said that as soon as one instance was brought to his notice he stopped it at once. I asked him how was it that a Hindu, who was standing on the roof of a house, was shot dead? Mr. Tyler opened the Code and kindly enlightened me of the fact that technically that man was among the rioters. Brick-bats were being thrown from all sides and how were the policemen to know that that man was not taking part in the riot? I enquired if all the boys had been released. He said that Mr. Mohamed Ali had told him that there were more boys in the hospital. It was very difficult, he said, to ascertain the age of Mahomedans. A man of 20 would give his age as 15 and a boy of 13 would give his age as 16 or 17.

I drew his attention to the different versions that had appeared in the papers about blank cartridges being fired. It was first published in all the papers that blank cartridges were fired, but the *Pioneer* contradicted it.

THE CAWNPORE MESQUE

Mr. Tyler said that blank cartridges were never fired. I told Mr. Tyler that the Mutwallis of the mosque told me that no notice had been served on them personally about the proposed acquisition of the washing place. He said that the Land Acquisition Officer had been to the mosque and told the Mutwallis all about it and notice about the award was served on the 29th June. I said that it was officially stated that there was no agitation protesting against the acquisition of the washing place of the mosque. Mr. Tyler said that that was so. I drew his attention to the memorial that had been submitted through Mr. Shahid Hosain signed by 1,200 Mahomedans. He said that it was well-known how those memorials were got up, people would sign them without knowing what they were for. Mr. Tyler further said that Mahomedans became very keen about the matter when they came to know that the Hindu temple would be left alone. I told the Magistrate that after interviewing many people at Cawnpore my impression was that there was great discontent among the Mussalmans and that the feeling was shared by the Mahomedans in Bengal. I also told him that some leading Mahomedans had told me that what the Partition of Bengal did to Bengal the Cawnpore riots would do to these Provinces—it would unite the Mahomedans to present a bold front against any measure of Government which affected their interests and that the Mahomedans still hoped that Government would reconsider the matter. Mr. Tyler said that as in the case of the Partition of Bengal, if Government were to give way to every agitation,

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

administration of this country would be impossible. Mr. Tyler believed that the agitation was engineered from outside. I asked him if he thought that there were instigators of the riots who had not so far been arrested. He said that certainly there were some more.

SIR JAMES MESTON AT CAWNPORE

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, on his way to Agra, broke his journey at Cawnpore on the 4th August, for a few hours. His Honour visited the scene of Sunday's disturbance and saw the Machhli Bazar Mosque. His Honour went to the Hospital where he spent a considerable time and enquired into the case of all the injured, including a number of policemen. From the hospital His Honour proceeded to the jail, where the number of those arrested exceeded one hundred, including a number of boys. It was also reported that some of the Trustees of the mosque, who convened Sunday's mass meeting and addressed the same, had been arrested. His Honour during his tour of inspection was accompanied by Mr. Browning, Commissioner of the Allahabad Division, who had been in Cawnpore for some days, and the local officials.

MASS MEETING AT LUCKNOW

A mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Lucknow and its neighbourhood was held on the 4th August at Kaiser Bag in connection with the Cawnpore Mosque under the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

presidency of Mr. Syed Nabiullah, Bar-at-Law, Vice-President of the All-India Moslem League. Feeling ran very high. The President with immense difficulty controlled the audience. The first resolution was moved by Mirza Samiullah Beg, who traced the history of the occurrence and assured the Government that nothing short of the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque would allay the growing indignation of the Indian Mahomedans. Mr. Wazir Hasan, Secretary to the All-India Moslem League, in a speech, dealt with every point of the Press *Communique* issued recently by the United Provinces Government in connection with the mosque and said that the *Communique* was uncalled for. He trusted that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces would cancel his former order and take to task the authorities of Cawnpore for misrepresenting facts of vital importance. He deplored the action of the Government in issuing the Press *Communique* which caused, he said, bloodshed at Cawnpore on the 3rd of August. He also said that the Government of Oudh should take steps in matters like those very cautiously. Mr. Shahid Hosain criticised the action of the authorities at Cawnpore and hoped that the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces would rectify this mistake. Maulana Abdul Bari criticised the action of the Government and urged the people present to obey the mandates of Islam in matters of religion and hold it dearer than life. He asked the audience to sacrifice all and to keep aloft the banner of Islam.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

The first resolution, which was passed in silence, all remaining standing, ran as follows:—That this mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Lucknow emphatically affirms that the portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore, recently demoilished, was an integral part of the said mosque, as sacred as the rest of it, and respectfully but strongly protests against its demolition which has deeply wounded the feelings of His Majesty's Mussalman subjects all over India and earnestly appeals to the Government of India to order the restoration of their desecrated place of worship in order to allay the feelings of excitement and alarm so extensively prevailing amongst them.

Mr. Zahoor Ahmed proposed to wire the resolution to the Viceroy and Dr. Naziruddin Hasan, M.A., Ph. D., remarked in seconding that if the Viceroy would not intervene they would go to the Secretary of State and appeal to Parliament, and if they failed the representatives of the community would go bodily to London to appeal to His Majesty the King Emperor to get their grievances redressed.

After this the meeting dispersed with a vote to thanks to the Chair.

MR. MOHAMED ALI INTERVIEWED

Mr. Mohamed Ali, editor of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*, was in Calcutta early in August in connection with a Turkish appeal to Englishmen which had been proscribed, as he wished to question

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the validity of the order of proscription in the Calcutta High Court. Interviewed, he expressed his great regret at the disturbance at Cawnpore and went very fully into the genesis and development of the difficulty. He hoped that one distinction at least would be clearly made.

So far as the destruction of a portion of the mosque was concerned the matter was one which affected the Mahomedans all over India. But although they were very sorry that the riot had occurred and although as Mussalmans it was their duty to render every legitimate assistance to the people of Cawnpore, it was a matter which primarily concerned the Cawnpore rioters and officials. "I had been dealt with rightly or wrongly at the time and would be dealt with further by the local and provincial authorities." Mahomedans all over India would urge that nothing had happened to alter the situation which was to be considered at the conference on Saturday between the Lieutenant Governor and a Moslem deputation. The action of a few men could not be allowed to rob Mahomedans of the right that their sacred buildings should not be touched.

Mr. Mohamed Ali strongly protested against the allegation that the Cawnpore Mahomedans had been indifferent until their feelings had been worked upon by outside influences. His own correspondence with Sir James Meston commenced with his telegram of May 15th. It had lasted until the beginning of July. During all that time he had refrained from referring to the matter in his paper, although the Urdu papers were

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

doing so. On May 15th he had been visited by a deputation of Cawnpore Mahomedans who discussed the question with him with great feeling and were unwilling to drop the matter. He had impressed upon them to restrain the temper of the masses and assured them that in the meanwhile everything possible would be done to represent the matter rightly to the authorities. After the demolition of the mosque on the 1st July he had been told how difficult it had been found to keep the more ardent spirits in check. The conveners had, however, remembered his very strong advice to them and had succeeded.

As regards the question at issue, Mr. Mohamed Ali said that the sanctity of the whole of the building of a mosque and of the land it stood upon was laid down in the Shari'at. It extended equally from the western *dalan* to the eastern where the purificatory washing of the hands and face took place before prayer. The question of keeping shoes on or taking them off was a convention mainly of Indian origin in order to keep the floor of the mosque clean. Even in the K'aba Mahomedans went with their shoes on, and at the Agra mosque the Amir of Afghanistan and many of his officers had entered without taking off their shoes and without affecting the sanctity of the building. The eastern *dalan* was an integral portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque. Overflow congregations offered prayers there and the fact whether it was built at the same date as the mosque or comparatively recently did not affect the question. The situation was some-

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

what different in the case of Hindu temples. So far as his information went, and he spoke subject to correction, provided religious ceremonies were duly observed the images could be removed from one place to another and he was informed that at Cawnpore itself several temples had thus been removed. But whatever be the facts of the case of the Hindu religious law, they did not affect the question of mosques. All over India the sanctity of a masjid was recognised and had hitherto been left undisturbed. Even in Calcutta the tiny mosque near the Medical College is evidence of this. Mr. Mohamed Ali feared that the recent actions of the local authorities appeared to have been aimed at forcing the hands of the Lieutenant Governor and presenting him with a *fait accompli* when the conference took place on August 9th. There was no need to have demolished the *dalan* on the 1st of July before the Lieutenant Governor had replied to the memorial sent through the Honourable the Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad. The Lieutenant Governor was to give his final decision on Saturday and the building could well have been allowed to remain till then. It was a small matter that the mob should try to pile up loose bricks on the top of each other. Without mortar they could not rebuild the mosque and if they could it would be easy to tear it down again.

Mr. Mohamed Ali said that without more details, he could not discuss the events of last Sunday. But he denied that the manifest excitement in Cawnpore itself could be attributed to the alleged taunts of outside

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

agitators. Under present circumstances he must await further testimony. But accepting the messages hitherto published as true, it was clear that neither at the place of meeting nor at the mosque was there adequate police force to keep the crowds in check. For police officers to attempt anything with such an inadequate force and particularly for Mr. Tyler to come to the scene, could only be provocative. What would have served the purpose of vindicating the dignity and the powers of the State far better would have been to have let the crowd alone at the time and to have surrounded the mosque subsequently during the night with the military of which there is enough for all purposes at Cawnpore. The riot case is now *sub judice* and it would be improper to prejudice it by comments. But His Honour the Lieutenant Governor should institute a careful inquiry into the whole affair.

The question of the new road, Mr. Mohamed Ali explained, had been before the authorities since 1909 and so far as he understood Sir John Hewett had approved an alignment which spared the mosque, just as in the case of the Holcy Road some 50 years ago when an alignment was narrowed to spare the Chhoti I'dgah. Much had been made of the absence of protest from the Mahomedans at the time when acquisition was notified. But this arose from a curious anomaly in the numbering of houses in the land acquisition plan which he had himself seen. The mosque was numbered 90 and this number was outside the alignment. But on a closer examination of the plan it appeared that a portion of it was marked

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

as No. 89 which was to be acquired. The Mahomedans thought that the whole mosque had been spared, whereas a portion was included in the area to be acquired. During the deliberations of the Improvement Committee he was informed that the one Mahomedan member did refer to the question. Mr. Mohamed Ali contested the allegation that the trouble had arisen after the Hindu temple opposite had been spared and that it was an illustration of ill-feeling between Mahomedans and Hindus. On the contrary, the Hindu members of the Municipal Board had on the whole fully supported the Mahomedans in their attempt to save the mosque.

The conference on Saturday would be attended by the Raja of Mahmoodabad, Mahomedan Members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils and some distinguished Ulama, including Maulana Abdul Bari of Farringhee Mahal, Lucknow. Mr. Mohamed Ali hoped that the incidents of Sunday would not be permitted to cloud the issue. It was not a question of Government giving way after a riot had taken place. The Government had already vindicated its power. The question was exclusively the maintenance of a universal Mahomedan right that the sanctity of mosques must be absolutely respected. He was sorry that something had been done to hurt and inflame the religious feelings of the loyal and law-abiding Mahomedan community in India when its temper had already been tried by events abroad.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

PRESS COMMENTS

(The Outlook)

Unquestionably the news of the shooting down of a Mahomedan procession at Cawnpore, engaged in protesting, though riotously and tumultuously, against a "Municipal regulation," has created a profound feeling of anxiety throughout England. The fact that the Mahomedans were killed while protesting against interference with a Mahomedan place of worship deepens the sense of uneasiness and sorrow. Englishmen do not like to have British rule supported too obviously by bayonets; and they down-right detest even a righteous necessity which calls for armed police. The fact that Indian Mahomedans have suffered, and that a grave agitation has arisen among the Moslem population, makes the affair all the more tragical and deplorable. We may be sure that the British Magistrate who had actually to meet the outbreak of fanaticism and violence displayed the utmost regard for humane considerations in face of the infuriated multitudes who sought to restore the damaged portion of the Machhli Bazar Mosque. It is elsewhere that the real responsibility must be sought. It is somewhat like the deplorable bloodshed at Johannesburg, where passions that threatened to provoke the most terrible catastrophies necessitated the intervention of the Imperial troops. The actual tragedy was only the result of antecedents which do not appear to have been recognized until the mischief had occurred. It is said in India, and in all probability said with justice, that the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

religious passions of the Cawnpore Mahomedans had been insidiously excited by agitators from outside. There has been a growing excitement among the Indian Mahomedans ever since the misfortunes of Turkey and the declarations of anti-Turkish policy by the Liberal Cabinet at Westminster. The unfortunate accident which led to a mosque being sacrificed in part in order to make room for an improved roadway, while a Hindu temple, that was intended to be demolished originally, was spared, gave an opportunity for sowing ill-will too tempting not to be utilized by the emissaries of discontent. We can receive all these explanations, which have no doubt their historical value. It remains regrettable that things should have been allowed to come to this extremity. The traditional administration of British India was accustomed to prevent such explosions in preference to suppressing them. Was it necessary to demolish any portion of a Mahomedan religious edifice without the full consent of the Mahomedan community? Granted the importance of good roads and better communications, might not a considerable circuit be much less an impediment to the public convenience than a religious edifice removed at the expense of many human lives and the anger of scores of millions of the King-Emperor's subjects? Somehow it does not recall the historic spirit of English rule—it does not recall the ways by which we won and kept India for glorious generations, when we read of “municipal improvements” being mishandled with such results. Has the un-English spirit which is conspicuous in so many aspects of the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Liberal Cabinet and party at home also come to influence the administration of our Asiatic Empire? There have been many changes and many strange arrivals in the conduct of Indian government since the Asquith Ministry came to office. It would be calamitous if our parliamentary rulers, who have degraded Parliament, should succeed in making India feel anything of what Ulster has to suffer. It is a poor excuse that there is an anti-British agitation among the Indian Mahomedans at England's abandonment of Turkey. Why should England have abandoned Turkey?

There is absolutely, as we have said, no reason for censuring the action of the magistrate who had actually to meet the outburst of religious passion and fury on the side of the angry crowd of Mahomedans. It is not when thousands of rioters are actually showering stones upon a small police force that hesitation can be shown about restoring order. It is the previous situation and the general condition of feeling throughout India, as well as the local circumstances at Cawnpore, which must invite the attention of the judicious observer. In the first place it appears that a curious discrimination was exercised in favour of Hindu petitioners. "Originally a Hindu temple as well as part of a mosque was to be demolished for the road improvement. In obedience to a protest from the people of the town the temple was spared." We believe that we are right in holding that no such injurious discrimination would have been tolerated by the old tradition of British rule in India. It is somewhat absurd to add the sapient remark that "the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

occurrence illustrates the danger of agitators playing on the religious fanaticism of an ignorant crowd." Let anybody try to pull down a Roman Catholic chapel in Galway or Limerick for "road improvement," and let him consider if the most perfect creation in pavement would be worth the trouble that must follow. It appears that the Government had a long warning of the growth of Mahomedan indignation. "The *dalan* or vestibule of the mosque was demolished to widen the road on July 1. The work of destruction was carried out in the presence of the District Magistrate, who had ordered out a strong force of police with fixed bayonets to preserve order. As soon as the building had been pulled down, thousands of Moslems visited the mosque. On July 17 a public meeting of Mahomedans of Cawnpore was held to petition the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, to order the restoration of the demolished building." The whole month of July was suffered to elapse, during which the Mahomedan protest extended all over India; and yet the devotees in high places of "road improvement" took no account of the deplorable situation. Does the Secretary of State for India receive no information of the rise and progress of vast movements of popular indignation and religious fanaticism, if you please, throughout our Indian Empire?

We are greatly afraid that, in addition to any incompetence which may exist among the novel elements introduced into Indian Government, there seems to be a certain non-official dislike at the sympathy which Moslem India has exhibited towards the misfortunes of

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Turkey and the discontent caused in India by the Near Eastern policy of our Foreign Office. It would be worse than foolish of any Government to show its resentment at such natural sentiments by any disrespect of Indian Mahomedan convictions. Clearly the necessity is evident for a careful examination and investigation where such danger is involved. Religion is the heart and centre of Indian feeling, both Mahomedan and Hindu. The Great Mutiny arose out of the excitement caused by the story of the "polluted cartridges" which were to destroy the caste of the native soldiery. Unfortunately, the forcible demolition of part of a mosque can neither be denied nor explained away. However high in the official hierarchy may be the origin of such a gigantic mistake as the demolition of a Moslem place of worship in order to improve a roadway, the investigation should not stop short of the exact truth and the real responsibility. We do not want the spirit of the Balkan Committee with its pitiful contempt for Mahomedan beliefs and Mahomedan rights, to be imported into the Government of the hundred million Mahomedans of the British Empire. Lord Crewe and Mr. Edwin Montagu are distinguished members of the Ministry which has hounded on the savage Serb and the merciless Bulgar to the destruction of Turkey in Europe—not only the Turkish army and rulers, but the civil population. They, too have turned the deaf ear to every demand for justice or equality of treatment. Even the consular reports of British Consuls have found them as unheeding as their eminent colleague in the Foreign Office. They have done an ill service



Mr. Mohamed Ali,
Editor, the "Comrade."

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

to the Empire in Asia ; and in the knowledge of their avowed tendencies it has not failed to fill the Moslem world in India with suspicion and discontent that is the most fertile soil for disaffection. The culpability is mainly theirs. The present is a time when exceptional consideration and friendliness, and no provocation of any kind, should be shown to Moslems by a wise Administration.

(The Pall Mall Gazette)

If ever a serious trouble arises in India, one of the greatest dangers will be that the press and public at home may take a premature and exaggerated view of the situation. The recent riots at Cawnpore, were not a serious matter, but they were very awkward. The United Provinces Government was probably quite right in sticking to its decision about removing an appendage to the mosque which was certainly not sacred. Both Moslems and Hindus have in the past exploited the supposed inviolability of their religious structures to an extent which has become intolerable. They show utter disregard of the care of these buildings themselves, and let their shrines fall into disrepair ; but any idle devotee can block a Government improvement by sticking a few stones together and pretending that they are sacred. The trick is often done.

We do not necessarily trust every ' man on the spot,' but we trust Sir James Meston, the new Governor of the United Provinces, very much indeed. We do so because, while he is a strong and able administrator,

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

he is also unusually receptive of Indian opinion and extremely broad-minded and tolerant. If he says that the opposition to a slight rounding-off of the precincts of the Cawnpore mosque is fictitious, we believe him ; and he seems to have said so in effect several weeks ago. The Moslems of Cawnpore appear to have been made the tools of agitators. What was a little local dispute was evidently fanned into a blaze for political purposes. No one need revive the memories of the mutiny in this connection. Cawnpore was made the seat of trouble this time because it is one of the few great industrial centres of India. The agitators have tried in vain to raise the peasants. They have recently concentrated upon the new artisan classes in a few great cities. The mosque incident was a welcome opportunity.

(The Bengalee)

All must regret the deplorable rioting that took place at Cawnpur on Sunday last, the particulars of which are published elsewhere. The occasion which gave rise to it was a mass meeting in the vicinity of the mosque which has given rise to so much controversy. We cannot help thinking that there was an absence of foresight on the part of the authorities and a lack of common sense in dealing with the crisis when it occurred. In view of the excitement prevailing among the local Mahomedan community, effective precautionary measures should have been taken to guard the mosque when the meeting was being held so that there would have been no temptation for an excited crowd to do

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

anything illegal. A demonstration of force which need not have interfered with the meeting at all, would, we believe, have prevented the rioting. But no precautionary measures in this direction appear to have been taken. Nay more, it was most unwise and exhibited an utter lack of any perception of the reality of the situation for the Sub Inspector and then for the Inspector, and finally a wholly inefficient police force to interfere with the mob in their building operations. The disposal of this small police force encouraged the mob. Either no resistance should have been offered, and those who acted contrary to law, might have been afterwards dealt with in accordance with the quiet forms of legal procedure, or resistance should have been offered in over-whelming force which would have led to the immediate dispersal of the mob without a drop of blood being shed. As it is, there has been bungling throughout. It is quite clear that the local officials failed to grasp the intensity of Mahomedan feeling on the subject, and officials when they commit a mistake are often too apt to persist in their notions of infallibility. Local feeling was under-estimated, and as is too often the case it was set down to artificial agitation from outside. What could the agitators do—and they are held responsible by the official world for all sorts of nameless horrors—if there was no local feeling at all? The higher officials accepted the views of the men on the spot. Even so astute and clear-sighted a ruler as Sir James Meeson acquiesced in the official blunder and shared in the inadequate appreciation of the gravity of the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

situation. It is forgotten that the Mahomedan world is now passing through intense excitement—the tension of feeling is high, owing to the misfortunes of Turkey, and the unhappy manipulations of European diplomacy. The old standard of judging must be tempered by the newly-developed conditions. But the bureaucratic mind, we fear, is slow to move, and tenaciously sticks to old-world traditions which need revision in view of modern developments. The whole of the unfortunate situation which has arisen in Cawnpur and which will be felt all over India, might easily have been avoided by a little more tact, by a greater disposition to conciliate popular opinion, and perhaps a slight modification of the sense of official infallibility. We have again and again in these columns urged the desirability of appointing a committee of representative Mahomedans with full powers to discuss and settle the points at issue. Even the appointment of such a committee would have sensibly⁶ relieved the tension of feeling and prepared the Mahomedan community for the acceptance of proposals of compromise. Time and discussion are elements which go far to soothe excitement and prepare the way for a reasonable attitude of the public mind. But these are exactly the things which are too often unacceptable to the ordinary bureaucratic mind. Swift decision followed by vigorous action is glorified as real statesmanship. We have had a recent illustration of it in the Sitapur case. However that may be, we hope that a thorough enquiry will be made into the circumstances connected

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

with the outbreak of the riot. Did the authorities take the necessary precautions to prevent it—was the rioting brought on by their bungling and unnecessary interference and would it not have been avoided if they had done nothing and allowed the law to take its course—and when it did occur, was it suppressed without any unnecessary waste of life? These are the issues involved. There has been a great and deplorable loss of life. Arrests have been made and the prisoners will be put on their trial. This will help to keep up and intensify the excitement. But at the same time the breakers of the law must be punished. Altogether it is a deplorable situation. We hope a full official *Communique* will be laid before the public.

(*The Pioneer*)

The seriousness of the present situation does not lie in what has happened at Cawnpore, but in what is going on without. Local disturbances, deeply regrettable as they are, have occurred before and will occur again in large cities of that type; but the temper of Mahomedan society at large is a more serious symptom. Thus the news of the Cawnpore riot was the signal at Lucknow for the immediate assemblage of a mass meeting at the Kaiser Bagh, where prayers were offered for "the martyrs" and a number of speeches delivered by prominent men which, to say the least of it, were decidedly inexpedient in the circumstances of the moment. It is difficult to know how to account for the change that has come over the temper of the Indian Mussalman commu-

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

nity, but it has been obvious to everyone that during the last eighteen months it has been under the influence of a general and severe moral reaction. Without appearing to know what it wants it has become restless and ill-humoured looking for quarrels in straws. The opening has come in this mosque affair, which a year or two ago would not have been noticed ten miles away but is now being eagerly seized on all over India as a pretext for the cry of an affront to Islam. The position towards which the leaders are apparently now advancing is that the Government of India must undo the work of the Government of these Provinces or incur the wrath of the community and that is a position of which the adoption would lead to deplorable consequences.

(*The I. D. T.*)

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* referring to the Cawnpore mosque riot questions the wisdom of the extent to which force was employed. "It is said that the object of the people was merely to rebuild the mosque under religious belief that they would thereby obtain salvation. Their action did not endanger life or property of any person and hence the employment of force with heavy death roll was entirely unjustified." It urges that those responsible could have been legally punished afterwards and the portion of the mosque if rebuilt could have been demolished.

(*The Sind Gazette*)

The *Sind Gazette* discussing the Cawnpore mosque affair from the point of view of its effect upon a

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

great Mahomedan province like Sind argues that it is against common sense to inflame Mussalman opinion throughout the country.

At a time when owing to Islamic misfortunes abroad Moslems in India are excessively sensitive to the slightest sign of seeming hurt or insult for the sake of carrying out a local road re-alignment scheme which no one outside Cawnpore has ever heard of or will ever care about. The *Sind Gazette* concludes as follows:—
“Sir James Meston has reputation so high among administrators for sagacity and strength of character that we cannot think that he will be long in arriving at and in publicly announcing a decision which will set everybody at rest. If not and if the mischief should proceed we shall begin to wonder what temporary cloud has come to obscure the usually sane counsel of the United Provinces Government.”

(The Englishman)

One wishes to write with as great a moderation as possible with regard to the Cawnpore incident. There can be no question that during the past few months pious Mahomedans in India have been rarely tried. As a result of increasing facilities of communication and publicity and also of a very definite propaganda, a feeling of solidarity had become evident amongst Moslems all over the world. The watchword, *Sab Islam hai ek hi*, had not only levelled the differences between Shia and Sunni but had brought into a single brotherhood races so far apart as the Malays and the Dervishes of

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the Soudan. Mahomedans had begun to look round for a common head and it is absolutely true that within the last few years even the most ignorant of Indian Moslems had come to regard the Sultan of Turkey with a great deal of reverence as the supreme ruler of Islam. It was just at the time when Mahomedans were most pleased and gratified with the evidences of the strength of Islam that the humiliations of the wars in Tripoli and in the Balkans followed. It is only necessary to point to the enormous sums of money that were sent from India to Red Crescent funds in Turkey to prove how deeply Indian Moslems were stirred. Then followed the quarrels between the Allies and the consequent recapture of Adrianople by the Turks, but at the very moment when Islam was rejoicing at the new turn of Fortune's wheel the Powers declared that Adrianople would have to be surrendered. It has not been surrendered yet, but Mr. Asquith's declarations have been of a kind that have certainly left the impression that the Powers intend to act unfairly towards Turkey. Whether Indian Mahomedans have a right to feel sore about the matter is besides the question. The point is that they are sore, and that by a process which is familiar to the students of the psychology of Eastern peoples, they are inclined, having one grievance against certain Christian States, to look for more and to find in the troubles of Turkey evidence of some kind of gigantic conspiracy against Islam in general

The occurrence illustrates the danger of agitators playing on the religious fanaticism of an ignorant crowd.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

City improvements and railway extensions have often necessitated much greater alterations in mosques in the past and there has never been agitation and objection. It is impossible to attribute good faith to the carefully engineered agitation in the Cawnpore matter.

(The Madras Times)

Sir James Meston is one of the ablest and most fair-minded of Indian administrators, full of good will to the people and deeply interested in their welfare, but we are afraid lacking in that intimate knowledge of their character to which His Highness the Aga Khan drew such pointed attention the other day in his speech at the annual meeting of the All India Moslem League. His Highness said that Englishmen did not realise the important part that religion plays in the Mahomedans' character which gives Mahomedans of whatever nationality, class or colour, a solidarity which is practically, unity. In the matter of the Machhli Bazar Mosque, Sir James Meston was, we much regret to state, ill-advised in meddling with it after the very definite protest made against the dismantling of the building by responsible Mohammedan representatives. Sir James Meston in his reply said :— "If every inconsiderable trouble is to be magnified into a racial grievance and accepted as such, then good-bye to the usefulness of Government and to the advancement of the public welfare." The pother is giving rise to a considerable deal of pother, and all through Sir James not being able to appreciate

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Moslem character. It was an error of judgment which tarnishes a brilliant record of work. Sir James did not think that the part which was demolished was sacred. There was no necessity for its being a holy of holies. Supposing the vestry of a Christian Cathedral sanctioned by time and tradition was required to be demolished to make room for a railway and supposing that an alien Government dismantled it against definite objections, lodged by responsible persons, we think the demolition of the vestry would cause much pain to the adherents of the sacred edifice, even though other land were given to build another vestry on ; and a vestry is not sacred. It is the point of view that has escaped Sir James, and his lack of imagination that are responsible for a very deplorable incident. At the same time, we feel bound to add that the Mohammedans of Cawnpore have not shown that degree of patience with the authorities that we have every reason to expect of them. They have allowed their zeal for religion to outrun their discretion. Sir James had arranged to meet a deputation to discuss the subject, and they might have achieved their wishes without the trouble they have brought on themselves.

A mass meeting of the Madras Muslims was held in the Mutalpet Bag Mosque on Friday the 8th August under the presidency of Jonab Moulvi Md. Rahim Sahib of Edga. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted and despatched to H. E. the Viceroy by wire :—" Madras Muslims profoundly resent over Cawn-

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

pore bloodshed and respectfully solicit for an urgent enquiry into the conduct of officials concerned and for the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque and pray for the release arrested priests."

At a meeting of the Anjuman, Mymensingh, it was resolved "that the meeting has full sympathy with the objects of the mass meeting at Calcutta held in the Town Hall, regarding the Cawnpur mosque affairs and that this meeting learnt with deep sorrow the terrible riot at Cawnpore and expresses its sympathy for the poor sufferers and is also of opinion that the utter disregard shown by the local authorities towards the Mussalman religious feelings has brought about this unfortunate incident." -

The following resolution was passed at an extraordinary meeting of the Behar Provincial Muslim League held on the 6th August 1913:—"That the Behar Muslim League expresses its strong sense of horror, indignation and resentment at the most gratuitous sacrilege committed by order of the United Provinces Government in demolishing an integral part of the Cawnpore Machhli Bazar Mosque and thereby deeply wounding the religious feelings of His Majesty's Mussalman subjects of India, which is a distinct violation of the constitutional rights of the people of this country and prays to His Excellency the Viceroy to be pleased to order the restoration of the desecrated part of the mosque to its original condition and thus allay the dangerous excitement prevailing throughout the country." It was further resolved "that this meeting

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

that the Mussalman public of Cawnpore had been ignorant of the fact of acquisition. No demarcation of the land to be acquired had been made on the spot nor any plan of the land published otherwise than by filing an English copy of it for public inspection in the Collector's office. If the plan so filed be examined by itself it will not show that any portion of the mosque was intended to be acquired. Moreover no notice required by section 9 of the Land Acquisition Act was ever served on the Trustees of the mosque as it was on the occupiers of all neighbouring places. At any rate, there can be no doubt that any apprehensions on this score were removed when in November 1912 the Mussalman public of Cawnpore took what your Honour was pleased to say to some of the members of our community of that place as an assurance that the mosque as a whole would be saved from demolition. It would further appear that the acquisition was not understood even by some of the members of the Municipal Board of Cawnpore to have been finally decided upon until the meeting of the Board was held on the 8th of March 1913, as is indicated by the following resolution which was moved at the meeting of the Board held on the 1st of April, 1913.

"From the proceedings of the Improvement Trust Committee that came before the Board at its meeting held on the 4th of March 1913 and confirmed by the Board at the meeting on the 8th of March 1913, to which a protest by a member of the Board was ruled out of order, the Board has come to know that a portion

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

of the building of the mosque in Machhli Bazar is being acquired for the purpose of the A. B. Road. Resolved that the contemplated acquisition being objectionable on religious grounds and being contrary to the spirit of the declaration by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor on the 13th November 1912, the Board is of opinion that the said portion of the mosque should not be acquired, and that any previous resolution of the Board directly or impliedly approving of such acquisition be cancelled."

After decision this resolution was amended and passed in the following terms : " That a recommendation may be sent to the Government requesting that no portion of the mosque on the A. B. Road be acquired in deference to the feelings of the Mohamedan community." The Chairman of the Board forwarded the said resolution to the Government through the Collector with a note of his own disapproving of the resolution. The Government thereupon declined to accept the recommendation of the Board. Another attempt was made in the Board to save the mosque *dalan* by moving a resolution in a meeting held on the 20th May to the effect "that the Board recommends that the Government be pleased to reconsider its decision." To this the Chairman moved an amendment to the effect that 'No further representation be made by the Board and that the Government order be accepted as final' which was carried and the original motion lost, only by the casting vote of the Chairman and thus so far as the Board was concerned the matter concluded on that day.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

In the meanwhile, in the month of March, a representative deputation of the Mahomedans of Cawnpore had waited on the Collector of the district in connection with the mosque, but to no effect. This step was followed by a memorial submitted by them to your Honour through the Hon. Mr. Shahid Hosain which was rejected on the 6th May. Lastly, another memorial on behalf of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore was submitted to your Honour through the Hon. Raja of Mahmoodabad, the reply to which was sent to him after the demolition of the mosque *dalan*. Besides submitting memorials further efforts were made to impress your Honour with the justice of their claim, supported as it was by the *fatwas* of our Ulama.

Your Honour, the question of the comparative sanctity of the portion demolished is, we beg to submit, purely one of Mahomedan ecclesiastical law. Backed by our inherited convictions as old as our faith itself and by the *fatwas* of our Ulama delivered recently, we beg to affirm with all the power of earnestness that we can command that the portion demolished was sacred and was an integral part of the mosque. We have no doubt that your Honour will pardon us if we speak on this part of the question somewhat frankly and feelingly. It has pained us greatly to find arguments publicly addressed in derogation to our religious views on this subject.* We, under the sense of expediency, do not desire to enter into the task of refuting those arguments in this address. Your Honour, if it is permissible for us to compare the intensity of our

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

feelings on one part of the question with another, we would have no hesitation in saying that this part has wounded our feelings the most. We beg to assure your Honour that the feelings of our community on this question as a whole are neither individual, local, nor manufactured. The demolition of the *dalan* on the 1st July previous to which we were quietly making efforts with the authorities for saving it, has caused a tremendous outburst of feeling amongst the entire Muslim population of India. These feelings are genuine, real and founded upon the bed-rock of religious faith. We need hardly say that the question is one of neither logic nor reasoning, and we fervently hope that it will appeal to your Honour if you will be pleased to consider it in the same spirit in which it is placed before you.

Our proposal to approach your Honour had originated some time before the lamentable events of the 3rd of August. We all bewail those unfortunate events, but we refrain from dwelling on those events more than to deplore them since they are about to be the subject of a judicial enquiry. We however fully trust that these events will not affect your Honour's decision in the matter. We pray your Honour, and pray you most respectfully and earnestly, that the demolished portion of the mosque may be restored, for which we and our entire community as in duty bound shall ever pray. We need hardly assure your Honour that the order prayed for, if passed, will have the effect of allaying the growing excitement and healing the wounded feelings of the entire Muslim community.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

MEMBERS' REMARKS

At the conclusion of the address Mr. Sayed Nabi Ullah said that he thought they had a good case in the Civil Courts.

Mr. Abdul Raoof who followed him said that they were not there to discuss rights under civil or criminal law. The object of the deputation was to approach His Honour with the address and that the Lieutenant Governor irrespective of recent events would take into account the feelings of Mahomedans and consider their supplications.

Mr. Riza Ali agreed with the previous speaker and said that he wished to bring forward the point as to whether the *dalan* was an integral part of the mosque. In Mahomedan law the words 'integral part' did not occur and the whole of a mosque was equally sacred whether it be bath room, pathway or pulpit. Therefore no part of a mosque could be acquired.

The Raja of Jehangirabad and Mr. Shahid Hosain both said that all they asked for was the Royal prerogative of mercy.

HIS HONOUR'S REPLY

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor before rising to reply drew the attention of the deputation to certain maps about which he said discrepancies had crept into the Press. The maps were shown to the individual members.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

Sir James Meston then said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly for the manner in which you have placed before me your views on certain questions connected with the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore. The course which you have adopted is in marked contrast to the intemperate language and distortion of facts with which the matter has been treated in some sections of the Press. It has been a source of much unhappiness to me that any considerable body of Mahomedans should think so ill of Government and its officers as to believe that we were actuated by the motives they ascribed and that we proceeded in ignorance of your sentiments and practices. That they assume. I am indebted to you therefore for the opportunity that you have given me to-day of putting our proceedings and our motives in the true light. As you have addressed me with moderation and in frankness, I will treat you with equal candour and give you a brief narrative of the reasons for demolition of the washing place. As far back as 1909 it has been common knowledge in Cawnpore that a new road running through the Machhli Bazar quarter would mean the demolition of a large number of buildings on the route, and there is no doubt that the scheme was being carefully watched by persons interested in those buildings. I find that in March of that year, 1909, a memorial was submitted suggesting an alternative route mentioning incidentally that the A. B. Road as then aligned would destroy three mosques and two temples. I mention this to show that no reasonable man can pretend that the people of Cawnpore had no

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

knowledge of or were not interested in what was proposed. After the alignment of the road had been finally settled the plans were offered for public examination in the ordinary manner. I place a copy of the road plan before you. From it you will see that a portion of the courtyard of the mosque as well as the washing place was proposed for acquisition. The mosque occupied the whole of plot No. 90 and a portion of plot No. 89 as has been tested by measurement on the spot and the remarks in your memorial on this point as well as certain erroneous statements which have been published regarding the alignment of the road must have been based on a mistaken reading of the map. In further confirmation of our conviction that the acquisition of a part of the mosque was neither unknown nor was the subject of protest we have the fact that in November 1911, the Mutwallis of the mosque petitioned the Municipal Board regarding the sale of the adjoining house which occupied the remaining portion of plot No. 89. From this petition it appears that the western wall of that house had been used by the mosque as an enclosure wall of its courtyard on the east. The sale of the house and the removal of its materials in the words of the Mutwallis themselves would mean dismantling the mosque. They therefore asked the wall to be allowed to stand. The special Land Acquisition Officer Mr. Avadh Behari Lal examined the matter on the spot and reported in writing that "the wall should be left for the meantime as the portion will probably be available when the bathroom is taken." The papers were placed before the sub-committee which was dealing with these

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

city improvements and the proceedings of that committee were placed before the Municipal Board. There are Mahomedan gentlemen on both these bodies and consequently it is impossible to say that the Mahomedans were not aware of two facts namely that the eastern boundary of the mosque did not belong to the mosque at all, and that that part of the building was to be taken for the road. I am not however so much concerned with what was the knowledge of the Mahomedan public on the subject. It is perfectly clear that the Mutwallis of the mosque with whom in the first instance we had to deal were thoroughly aware of the position, and there is no record whatever of any objection having been offered to the proposed acquisition.

I come now to my visit to Cawnpore in November 1912. On that occasion I went personally to the scene in order to inspect the Tili's temple against the removal of which I had a number of protests. I must have been standing within a few yards of the mosque although I do not remember seeing it and no body brought it to my notice. The members of the Board and other citizens of Cawnpore were with me and the conversation so far as I recollect was free and general. Yet no one made any mention whatsoever of the mosque or of any grievance connected with it. At my subsequent meeting with the Board at the Circuit House a Mahomedan member just at the close of the proceedings put a question to me of which I cannot pretend to remember the exact terms. My impression, however, is that he enquired whether the alteration in route which would be necessitated by sparing

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

the temple would do damage to any of the mosques. There were apparently two mosques on the road, one on either side. I had never heard of the matter before and had to consult the Chairman before answering this gentleman. The Chairman informed me that though the bathroom of one of the mosques was being acquired in any case, the alteration of the road on which we had just decided would not involve any further encroachment upon the mosques. I accordingly answered my questioner in the negative. A subsequent examination of the maps has shown conclusively that the decision to spare the temple did not prejudice the mosque. On the contrary dividing one original broad road into two narrower sections it was found possible to diminish the area of the mosque premises which originally had been marked for acquisition, and to take only the washing place and preserve the strip of courtyard which it had previously been decided to acquire. The suggestion which I have seen that the sparing of the temple was reserved by sacrificing a larger portion of the mosque is untrue.

These then, gentlemen, are the facts which were before myself and the local authorities when the present agitation first arose. They indicated that there was no real grievance, no feeling of outraged religion, no desire to interfere with the execution of very necessary improvement. On the contrary we have every reason to believe that the people directly interested in the mosque were aware of the proposals and consented to what has all along been the intention of the local authorities, namely the removal of a small part of the building from the

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

eastern to the northern wall without expense to the mosque or inconvenience to worshippers. When therefore protests began to reach me at the end of March and the beginning of April last I found some difficulty in understanding why the position had changed. I am delighted to have your assurance that the reason of the change is not any jealousy of the good fortune of the Hindus in having their temple preserved. It is a matter of sincere regret to me if the feelings of my Mahomedan friends have been hurt by such an assumption. But if this was not the reason for the unexpected outburst of protests, some reason had to be looked for. It was fresh in my mind that a similar arrangement for a slight alteration in the structure of a mosque at Lucknow had been cordially accepted by the Mahomedans of that city and many other instances of the same kind occurred to me, they have no doubt occurred to you. What therefore had happened to make the proposal of the City Improvement Trust in Cawnpore so objectionable? Was the washing place more sacred than the appendages of the mosque which had been removed amicably in Lucknow and elsewhere? Did any special religious sentiment attach to this *Vasookhana* or *Vasookhanas* in general. On this point I assure you, gentlemen, that I did not rush to a conclusion. I did not, it is true, consult doctors of law as I have since done with somewhat varying results. But I did consult a number of Mahomedan gentlemen whom I know to be orthodox and representative of their class and thoroughly reliable. My information was that the *Vasookhanas* and the *Istinjakhana*

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

have not the same sanctity as the place of worship proper. Local enquiry seemed to afford confirmation of this in the evidence which was given me regarding the wearing of shoes in this part of the building. That evidence I believe in spite of attacks which have been made upon it in the Press and I think you will agree with me gentlemen on a dispassionate consideration of the facts as distinct from technicalities that there is a part of the mosque premises in which worshippers wear shoes and that there is a part in which the ordinary practice in India is to put shoes off. To the average mind it would seem that the same sanctity can hardly attach to the former as to the latter, and that is the meaning—the plain commonsense and non-legal meaning—of what has been said regarding the comparative sanctity of the washing place.

I notice from your memorial—again with sincere regret—that a suggestion of Government that the washing place has not the same sanctity as the inner portion of the mosque has wounded your feelings more than any other phase in this unfortunate affair. I can only say that the statement was made in all good faith, that it had the support of a strong body of orthodox Mahomedan opinion, and that was in no way meant to wound your feelings or hurt your susceptibilities. Knowing me as most of you do, I trust that you will accept this assurance.

I come now to the request with which your memorial concludes : a request that I should order the demolished washing place to be restored. As I have told

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

you I am ready and always have been ready to give to the mosque, with all necessary dedication or other formality, an area on the north side which will be more than sufficient for a washing place, as well as to reconstruct the washing place on that area, or present to the mosque a sum of money which will allow the Mutwallis to construct it for themselves. That offer, made in all good faith, has long been open and remains open. If however your request extends to the reconstruction of the washing place on the site which has been acquired, the position is different. Had we met some weeks ago and discussed the matter as we have done to-day, I can not say what the result might have been. But the whole state of affairs has been altered by the events of the 3rd August and I regret it is impossible for me now to pass any such order. By expressing regret I am using no mere formal words, for I see here to-day some of my best friends, Indian gentlemen whose opinions I highly value and whose advice I would implicitly accept in nine cases out of ten. But in this case I have to think of the broad administrative considerations which underlie the maintenance of law and order, and the neglect of which would mean misgovernment and chaos. Like you I cannot discuss the calamity of the 3rd August while still *sub judice* though I may join with you as I sincerely do in deploring the loss of life and suffering which have occurred. But without in any way anticipating results of the judicial enquiry it is my clear duty to proceed on the principle that Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

And now gentlemen, I venture to ask your help. You know that the British Government is no wanton destroyer of your sacred buildings. You know on the contrary how it has preserved, restored and beautified many Mahomedan monuments of which you are now most proud. You also know that in this matter of city improvements minor structural alterations such as were proposed in the Cawnpore case have been carried out with the consent and good will of the Mahomedan public without any invocation of ecclesiastical law and with a sole eye to the public good. There are many instances of this which I might mention, in different parts of the province but it is unnecessary to do more than remind you of certain recent examples of what I mean with which you and I are thoroughly familiar, within two miles of where we are sitting to-day. Why has the spirit of the people changed so entirely and why has the arrangement which was acceptable in Lucknow a few months ago become impossible in Cawnpore. Now surely in view of the facts as I have endeavoured to put before you this morning you will agree that the present case has suffered from exaggeration and misunderstanding. I am told that crores of Mahomedan hearts have been wounded. But what is in that that has wounded them? Is it anything that Government has done, or is it not rather the travesty of the Government's acts and motives which has been provided for their consumption? You ask me to allay the growing excitement and heal the wounded feelings of the Moslem community. I will gladly do all that is reasonable and possible in this

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

direction, but it is in your power to do infinitely more. It is in your power to contradict the untruths which are being spread abroad, to inform the Moslem community of the true facts and to ask them to place confidence in the good will of Government, which has no thought except for their advancement and welfare.

Two more of those under arrest in connection with the riots were released on the 11th August, leaving 102 still in confinement.

It was believed that the trial of these men would take place in different batches. A large number of Mahomedan Barristers offered their services in connection with the case for the defence.

Police guard had been stationed near the mosque, which was visited by every new arrival. The Tili's temple near the mosque was also carefully guarded by the police.

Mr. H. Moncrieff Smith, I. C. S., would be placed on duty at Cawnpore as Special Magistrate to try the cases of those charged with participating in the riot.

One arrest was made at midnight on the 11th August in Colonelganj. The man was brought to 'hajat' under a strong escort of armed police.

Among the new arrivals at Cawnpore were Messrs. Mazhar-ul-Haque and Ross Masood from Bankipore, the Hon'ble Syed Abdur Raoof and Dr. Mahmood from Allahabad, Messrs. Mahomed Nasim, Zabooh Ahmed and Syed Shoukat Ali from Lucknow.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam-Us-Saalaim had given notice of a lengthy resolution, which he would bring forward at the next meeting of the U. P. Council on the subject of the riot at Cawnpore. The resolution would ask for the appointment of a mixed Commission of high officials,—European, Hindu, and Moslem,—to publicly investigate the acts of various bodies and persons concerned in the affair and to inquire into the causes that had led to the serious loss of life and sufferings.

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad Sobhani, Editor of the *Al-Hilal*, sent the following message to the *Bengalee* :

"I called upon the Magistrate of Cawnpore on the 10th August with a request to allow me to visit the Cawnpore Jail to have an interview with those arrested ; but he refused permission. I wired to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces on the 11th August, requesting him either to direct the Magistrate to grant my said prayer or to explain reasons for withholding it. The Magistrate of Cawnpore also did not approve of my stay at Cawnpore."

